O.K.

FROM COALMINE TO *Castle*

THE STORY OF THE *Dunsmuirs* OF VANCOUVER ISLAND

BY

JAMES AUDAIN

Indexed

PAGEANT PRESS • NEW YORK

FROM COALMINE TO Canada

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PROLOGUE

THE DUNSMUIRS

1850-1890

Pioneers of the Pacific Coast

A true saga of the New World is the story of the Dunsmuirs of Vancouver Island. No history of British Columbia, no references to older days, no account of the "good old times" could possibly be complete without a story of the famous family whose members helped found the Province, and whose adventures in life brought them wealth, power, and social position.

Thus wrote the *Vancouver Sun* in 1943. Another biographer said of the head of the Dunsmuir family:

What Lord Strathcona did for Canada on a large scale, Robert Dunsmuir accomplished for British Columbia.

Chapter 1

THE JOURNEY FROM SCOTLAND

On December 10, 1851, the *Pekin,* a ship of five hundred tons belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, sailed from the Old Country bound for the Pacific Coast.

On board, among other Company servants, were Boyd Gilmour and his nephew Robert Dunsmuir, son of an Ayrshire family of coal masters; Dunsmuir's wife; and their two little girls, Elizabeth and Agnes.

The young Dunsmuir couple, after a brief, financially unsuccessful married life in Scotland, had chosen to pull up their stakes and venture forth to the New World, despite much trepidation on the part of the young wife. Both had been educated at Kilmarnock Academy, and after a brief courtship had married, and now hoped that in joining their Uncle Gilmour in prospecting the coal resources around Fort Rupert, Vancouver Island, they might pave the way to fame and fortune.

After a wearisome journey the *Pekin* arrived off the mouth of the Columbia River where her captain "through want of care, ran her hard and fast on a sand bar." Peter Skeen Ogden wrote in a dispatch to W. F. Tolmie at Fort Nisqually dated July 18, 1851, that the captain then sought to have his ship condemned while he himself as Factor "proceeded with the assistance of Indians to discharge the *Pekin*'s cargo in nine days, and at the same time to load the *Mary Dare.*"

From the *Oregon Spectator,* July 3, 1851: "The *Pekin,* a large ship belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, has arrived at Columbia City direct from Europe." And on July 10th, the head-

lines read: SHIP'S CREW DESERTING. The story follows: "We learned a few days since that the ship *Pekin,* which arrived at Vancouver week before last, was almost entirely deserted by her crew. The wages allowed the sailors were $11.00 per month. The prospect of making from $40.00 to $60.00 per month on shore, it seems, was too tempting for them to forego. The *Culloma,* lying about two miles below this city, was partially deserted by her crew. We hope that the next legislature will pass a law requiring compliance with contracts entered into by parties previous to coming into the country. . . ."

So it would seem that after suffering the hardships of the voyage, and the grounding of the ship on the sand bar, the added vicissitudes that accompanied desertion were now about to overtake the settlers.

The party continued up to Fort Vancouver on the *Mary Dare.* However, the prospect of an enforced break in the journey did not come amiss to Joan Dunsmuir. Born Joanna White of Kilmarnock, she was a woman of strong individuality and keen intelligence. Besides the handicap of two young children on so long a voyage, she was soon again to become a mother. On July 8, 1851, James was born at Fort Vancouver. He was later to become a multi-millionaire and Premier and Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia.

During their enforced stay at Fort Vancouver, the travellers were made more than welcome by the hospitable Chief Factor Ogden and his fellow Hudson's Bay officers, among whom was Grant of Fort Hall fame. The military also did all in their power to enliven the daily program for the party from the *Pekin.*

The settlement in which the young Dunsmuirs stayed is described in an article written about the time they were there.

> This place was evidently designed for the centre of population in Oregon, and not many years will pass until its destiny will be accomplished.
>
> The grand Columbia rolls by from the distant sources in

the mountains—the Cascades on the East, the Wallamet Hills on the West bound the view—while old Hood presides in the Southeast, and St. Helens, not less magnificent, in the North.

The medial distance between the dense settlements of the Wallamet, the whole valley of the Columbia, and the Puget Sound region, makes it in position the emporium of these regions.

The selection of this site for the headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company by Dr. McLoughlin, shows that his good judgment only yielded to obvious indications of the physical geography of this part of the world. The delta of the Wallamet and the broad bottoms of the Columbia, with the wide sweeping, rolling upland that stretches to the mountains from both rivers, embrace a district of land not excelled for fertility by any in the world. At present man has made but a beginning towards its improvement.

Although it has been occupied for the Indian trade long enough to rot down the first palisades of the post, the settlements have as yet only fringed the shores and are scarcely disturbing the rich valleys and prairies outside the river fronts. Except the barracks and houses for the military, but little change has been made in the appearance of the place. The present Fort is in good repair. The old guns are insufficiently formidable to prevent their being fired for anything of less importance than Queen Victoria's birthday. The trade goes on quietly enough to melt down the ships' loads of goods that annually arrive here, and hence are taken hundreds of miles throughout the great interior.

The country around is still claimed by the Company, under the treaty.

The site is occupied by the military . . .

After their long sea voyage the Dunsmuirs and their kinsman were content to rest awhile in these pleasant surroundings to summon up their strength for the trials and rough living that lay

ahead, when they should reach their final destination, Fort Rupert.

However, all good things come to an end, and in September they sailed once more, again in the *Mary Dare,* for Vancouver Island.

Chapter **2**

EARLY DAYS AT FORT RUPERT

Robert Dunsmuir was born at Hurlford, Ayrshire, in 1825, and married Joanna White in 1847. Thus neither life nor marriage had had time to mould him to any marked degree for his journey to America.

Coming of a family born and bred amongst coal, despite a smattering of education acquired at Kilmarnock Academy, Dunsmuir was really quite a simple man. The shrewd common sense and keen judgment that in later life stood out in the handling of his many affairs besides coal must have been an inheritance from his Scottish forebears.

Joan was the stronger character of the two, as illustrated on innumerable occasions, but Robert was master in his own house and by no means a hen-pecked husband.

The newcomers found conditions much more primitive at Fort Rupert than had been the case at Fort Vancouver.

GOVERNOR BLANSHARD INEFFECTUAL IN OFFICE

Previous to their arrival much unrest had prevailed; Governor Blanshard, whose term in office at Vancouver Island had been spent largely in ineffectual attempts to subdue the warlike tribes around Fort Rupert, and to adjudicate in the quarrels and inter-official jealousies of the Hudson's Bay Company, had given up the task as a bad job and gone back to England into retirement, leaving James Douglas to take his place.

Now Douglas had been trained under Chief Factor John McLaughlin, a good tutor, and an able Hudson's Bay Company official who had done so much to put Fort Vancouver on the map, and to contribute to its rise. Douglas was much stronger in character than his predecessor Blanshard.

DOUGLAS' POLICY

His policy was to be diplomatic with the Indians while the settlers were still weak and few in number; not to give them cause for anger, but nevertheless, should they prove murderous or definitely hostile, then to punish them severely and justly as laid down by the white man's laws.

This policy had not been possible to implement up till now, as punitive expeditions were definitely frowned upon, and although the Indians had been troublesome to a degree and at times openly hostile, they had been allowed to get away with such behaviour. Things had come to a head a year or so previously and three Europeans had been murdered, while the culprits had been exceptionally difficult to apprehend and bring to justice. It was to these conditions that Gilmour and Dunsmuir had to accustom themselves on arrival at the Fort.

CONDITIONS AT THE FORT

John Muir, originally sent up to take charge of mining operations, had left, and the remaining miners were very dissatisfied. Coal was of poor quality, implements few and almost useless; while unsettling rumours of fortunes for the taking in the gold fields were constantly reaching from California.

The mines were located at Suquash, about eight miles from the settlement, but work had practically ceased because of the shortage of hands. Boyd Gilmour and Robert Dunsmuir immediately set about remedying this state of affairs, with the limited means

at their disposal, but they too encountered numerous difficulties.

Discipline at the Fort, originally of shipboard severity, as imposed by McNeill, had suffered, although his successor Blenkinsop had done his best. The general unrest in the mixed garrison of Scottish miners, French Canadians, English and Kanakas was so acute that order and method of any kind was a difficult matter.

Dr. J. S. Helmcken, but lately from England, had for a time been empowered to act as magistrate by Governor Blanshard, but he too had found his duties next to impossible, and even with the help of sailors from the man-of-war had great difficulty in bringing to justice the murderers from the Newitty tribe responsible for the deaths already mentioned.

Outside the stockade the country was a wilderness full of untamed savages and, as Governor Blanshard put it: "The Queen's Majesty stood very much in need of the Queen's Bayonets." Inside the stockade, discipline was necessarily strict.

The Fort was the usual rectangle with its pickets and bastions and two trading buildings built round an inner courtyard which housed the commandant, and which acted as a "rallying point" or "keep" where Indians were forbidden to enter.

The dwellings inside the stockade were rough in the extreme, and that of the second-in-command, known as "Beardmore's Castle," was built of logs and was about a dozen feet square. It had an earth floor spread with a few broken clam shells, bunks on each side, and an altar with a fire on it in the centre, while a round hole in the roof acted as both chimney and ventilator.

Just outside the Fort lay the Indian encampment, the home of the Kwakiutl tribe numbering some 2,500–3,000 souls. The gates of the stockade, which, at the time of the murder incident and after had been kept shut, stood open during the day after things had quietened somewhat. The Indians were allowed to come and trade at the stores; but at night the gates were shut and closely guarded by a sentry, as were the walls of the stockade.

The little community inside the stockade numbered about thirty-five, while outside were 3,000 savages. Thus, security could never be taken for granted, but on the whole after the trouble

with the Newittys, during which the white garrison had to be constantly on the alert, things had settled down into a semblance of tranquillity; the Indians stood on their good behaviour and became much in demand as guides, hunters and fishermen.

It was stressed that the Fort had been built for defence, not offence; therefore, the miners were naturally the most important members of the community.

BABY JAMES KIDNAPPED

The Dunsmuir household possessed, apart from the others, a tremendous attraction for the Indians, in the person of a small pink-faced, blue-eyed infant with flaxen curls. They had never seen anything like him in their lives and were more than anxious to buy him, offering among other things "sea-otter skins to the height of a man."

One day, Joan Dunsmuir, having left Baby James sleeping in his cot, took the two older children with her to the bake-oven which lay in the centre of the inner courtyard. Thinking that she would be gone only a minute, she was agonized to find the cot empty on her return. In a frenzy she rushed to her husband, who had just returned for supper, and told him the news. The Fort was quickly roused and the men formed a search party to go to the Indian encampment, when, after a thorough search of the stockade, it appeared that the infant had vanished.

As the search party approached the Indian camp they heard chanting, and saw the light of a large fire. Once arrived they saw that a group of squaws was sitting round the fire passing a bundle from hand to hand. The leaders of the posse, with Dunsmuir at the head, thinking that this was only some squaw gathering, were about to seek out the Chief, but one of their number, looking closer, saw that the bundle was a human child. They quickly ran to the group of squaws and found to their relief that the object of their tremendous interest was Baby James, who was unharmed.

The overjoyed mother quickly gathered the child in her arms,

and Hamilton Moffatt and Dunsmuir sought out the Chief and demanded to know the reason the child had been stolen. This dignitary explained that the golden-haired baby had proved a big attraction to the womenfolk of the tribe, and one of their number, seeing him alone and unattended, had "borrowed" him to present him to the tribe as their future Chief. The leader of the white men now had to persuade the Chief and his tribe that it would be more appropriate for the baby to return with his mother, and become a leader among his own people, rather than a strange tribe of another nation.

Finally all was amicably settled, and the white men, realizing that the Indians had only "borrowed" the baby to do him honour, left them in peace, finding it impossible to blame the tribe for their action. This episode caused Joan to guard the baby much more closely, and from that moment he was never alone for an instant, and was always in sight of a reliable adult. But the event had caused the rough pioneers to admire the sterling courage that the young mother had shown in her hour of trial, for she had come through, with flying colours, a happening it would have been impossible to imagine in the confines of the rather narrow little Scottish community of her childhood. It was a far cry from Kilmarnock to life in a wilderness surrounded by savages, little removed from the Stone Age, but Joan did not despair and if anything, she urged her menfolk to work harder that they might sooner gain success. From now on, all Indians entering the stockade were searched and scrutinized in a most rigid fashion, and at night the guard at the gate was doubled.

However, it was the Newittys who had been the chief troublemakers, and the Kwakiutl tribe had remained on good behaviour; they had no wish to undergo the drastic punishment that had been meted out at the time of the murder, when the sailors from the man-of-war had burnt the whole camp of the offending tribe.

Coal prospects, however, were far from good, and the seam was of the poorest, and after digging five holes, Dunsmuir and Gilmour despaired of accomplishing anything worthwhile.

Chapter **3**

THE BEGINNING OF NANAIMO AND THE COAL INDUSTRY

The early fortunes of the Dunsmuir family are so bound up with those of Nanaimo that it would be well to relate here the story of the beginning of this settlement from the time Joseph William McKay was ordered to take possession on behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company, until its coal became famous the length of the Pacific Coast. With this rise to fame, the Dunsmuirs were known as the "coal barons of Vancouver Island."

On August 24, 1852, James Douglas, now governor at Victoria, wrote to Joseph William McKay:

Sir:

1. You will proceed with all possible diligence to Wentuhuysen Inlet, commonly known as Nanymo Bay and formally take possession of the coal beds lately discovered there for and in behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company.
2. You will give due notice of that proceeding to the Masters of all vessels arriving there and you will forbid all persons to work the coal either directly by means of their own labour or indirectly through Indians or other parties employed for that purpose except under the authority of a licence from the Hudson's Bay Company.
3. You will require from such persons as may be duly licensed to work coal by the Hudson's Bay Company, security for the payment of a royalty of 2/6 a ton which you will levy on the spot, upon all coal whether procured by mining or

by purchase from the natives, the same to be held by you and from time to time duly accounted for.

In the event of any breach or evasion of these regulations you will immediately take means to communicate intelligence of the same to me.

I remain, Sir,
Your obedient servant
James Douglas

NANAIMO

The honour for the discovery of coal at Nanaimo belongs to the Indian "Coal Tyhee," whose picture now hangs in the bastion. This historical site is daily visited by tourists and sightseers seeking after historical information.

It was the "Coal Tyhee" who reported the presence of the rich mineral to the white settlers, and in after days he was pointed out to newcomers as "the man who discovered the coal"; but the credit for the establishment of the coaling port belongs to Joseph McKay and his successor, Captain Charles Edward Stuart, and the perseverance and hard work of the early miners, of whom Robert Dunsmuir was perhaps the most noteworthy and certainly the most successful.

In accordance with the governor's orders, a small party sailed on the brigantine *Cadboro,* consisting of McKay, Archibald Muir, the blacksmith Raymond, Mr. B. W. Pearse, and Mr. J. D. Pemberton, the surveyor and technical advisor. Some French Canadians and Kanakas made up the rest of the party.

Gilmour and Dunsmuir did not arrive at Nanaimo till some months later, and were at this date still struggling with the adverse conditions at Fort Rupert. Shortly after the party arrived, McKay wrote a report to Douglas that they had landed and taken possession of the new settlement as ordered, and were now setting about the task of excavating the coal as they were able to find it. This,

however, was proving a difficult matter with the make-shift tools with which they were forced to labour. Raymond, too, provided difficulties in one way or another, and all considered, work progressed very slowly. To offset this, McKay soon set about conscripting native labour, paying wages by way of trade goods. He stated in one report that an Indian, provided he was a good worker, could earn "up to one shirt a day."

On September 10, 1852, the *Cadboro* sailed from the new settlement with the first load of coal ever to be shipped from Nanaimo, 480 barrels.

INDIANS USED AS HUNTERS AND FISHERMEN

The Indians, besides aiding with the mining, were very useful as hunters and fishermen, for which services they were also paid in trade goods, while the Chiefs, when especially cooperative, were rewarded with a blanket, which they prized very highly.

Douglas, in his letters of advice and instructions to McKay, evinced an excessive desire to have peaceful dealings with the Indians, to use diplomacy rather than force, for trouble at the commencement of such an enterprise could easily spell ruin. He also counselled McKay, in one of his letters, to lay in a goodly stock of provisions against an emergency—especially as it was possible to salt and store venison and salmon against a rainy day.

SHUTTLE SERVICE ESTABLISHED

For the trade between Nanaimo and Victoria, Douglas established a shuttle service, using the *Cadboro* and the schooner *Recovery,* whose task it was to sail from Fort Victoria carrying supplies and trade goods and to return laden with cargoes of coal.

The miners themselves were paid 1 shilling a day, and bought their own rations, and the houses—such as they were—were supplied by the Company.

The early correspondence between Governor Douglas and McKay is taken up with details of stores needed, advice in case of trouble with the Indians, small disciplinary incidents, and news of the search for wider coal fields and fresh seams.

AMERICAN SHIP VISITS NANAIMO

The community was paid a visit by an American ship about this time, the *Honolulu Packet,* commanded by Captain Webster. This ship bought thirty-two tons of coal for which, however, the captain was unable to pay; however, in anticipation of this he left his chronometer and ship's papers with Governor Douglas as security for his safe return. It was understood that Captain Webster would rectify the matter on his reaching Fort Victoria.

SMALL WORRIES AND SETBACKS OF THE NEW SETTLEMENT

The little community was in the process of cutting its teeth, and trouble with the Indians was a constant dread—and even the few whites were not entirely free from bickering among themselves. The blacksmith Raymond was a discontented type and fond of liquor and full of complaints, and McKay was forced to return him to Fort Victoria, replacing him with a man named Lefleur.

At the same time that Raymond was returned (he had also developed a severe leg sore), McKay indented for two reliable men to run the winch, as he had found Indians were too untrustworthy to handle a job where life was at stake.

A visitor to Nanaimo about this time was Chief Factor John Work, and it is no doubt that it was owing to the glowing reports brought back to Gilmour and Dunsmuir struggling at Fort Rupert that caused Gilmour to apply for a transfer to the newer coal port.

At all events, on October 22, 1852, Boyd Gilmour got his orders

from Douglas to proceed to Nanaimo and assist the miners engaged in the new venture at that place.

GILMOUR ARRIVES AT NANAIMO

It appears that it took Gilmour some time to make the transfer for we do not actually hear of him until April 9, 1853, when McKay dispatches superintending the work at the mines, and seriously considers "pulling out and abandoning Newcastle Island in favour of working a seam at Chase River."

By this time the fame of Douglas Coal (named after Governor Douglas) was spreading far and wide, and had reached San Francisco. Production was increasing considerably, the last load to leave on the *Mary Dare* being as much as 1,840 tons.

Andrew Muir had joined his brothers and he and Gilmour acted as superintendents. A complaint from Captain Prevost of H.M.S. *Satteline* that a cargo of coal to the Queen Charlotte Islands had been very dirty was a slap in the face to both the governor and McKay, and Muir was cautioned to see that such a thing did not happen again. Such an occurrence was a grave matter when they were struggling for the market, and it was insisted that all coal leaving Nanaimo depart in first-class condition, and all shale and other useless material should be separated and put aside before shipping.

In addition to this unfortunate report, McKay was receiving considerable trouble and difficulties from his Indians.

DIFFICULTY WITH THE INDIANS

The Nanaimo Indians had originally been employed in digging coal and in hunting for the establishment, and though importuning to a degree, and at times pilfering, they were not actually warlike, though their neighbours, the Cowichans, were continually provocative of quarrels. Gilmour's introduction to his new

house was a quarrel nearly ending in a death between two Nanaimo Indians and a Cowichan, not fifty yards from his own door.

Some Skuwhomish and She-shalls had volunteered to come to the settlement to cut shingles and "Moe-moe-toe," the Sanetch Chief, was already working for the whites and was overjoyed at the possession of two blankets. The usual currency, other than these highly valued blankets, was kettles, knives, glass, and beads.

A more serious affair for the community occurred in a murder and "Wun-wun-skim," the Nanaimo Chief, reported that it had been in some manner occasioned by the killing three years previously of an Indian by Beardmore. This tale, however, was believed to be without foundation.

Even more seriously did Douglas caution McKay at this time against provoking any untoward incident, and to utilize the utmost diplomacy in all his dealings. If the quarrels must take place, let them do so beyond the confines of the white habitations, he added.

BUILDING OF THE BASTION AND THE FIRST HOUSES

By June, 1853, the bastion was nearly finished; the three dwelling houses were habitable, twenty feet by thirty feet. The shingle-cutting Indians had proved their worth.

Further additions to the mining personnel had come in the persons of Pierre Versailles, George Cook, George Thomas, and Magnus Edgar, and middlemen in Cluett, Weston, and Cork. Some of these men had come out in the *Tory* and, although not trained mining personnel, were used as additional labour. Others came out in the *Princess Royal* in 1854. Among the passengers were George Baker, his wife, son and daughter; John Baker and his wife; Joseph Bevilockway, his wife, two sons and daughter; John Biggs and his wife; George Bull, his wife and daughter; Daniel Dunn and his wife; Elijah Ganner, his wife, two sons and two daughters; Edwin Gough, his wife, son and daughter; William Harrison; Thomas Hawks, his wife, son and daughter; Wil-

liam Incher; Thomas Jones; Mrs. Thomas Lowndes; John Malpass, his wife, son and daughter; John Meakin, his wife and two sons; Matthew Miller, his wife and two daughters; Richard Richardson and his wife; John Richardson, his wife, two sons and daughter; George Robinson, his wife, son, daughter and maid; Jesse Sage, his wife, two sons and one daughter; John Thompson and his wife; Richard Turner and his daughter; Joseph Webb and his wife; and, Thomas York, his wife and two daughters. McGregor had come back from Victoria by this time and brought his wife, as had another man by the name of French, who was to die a month or so later. Frequent arrivals also came in from Fort Rupert for medical treatment and for other reasons, and one of these was the Dunsmuir family.

THE BIRTH OF ALEXANDER DUNSMUIR

McKay's *Journal* records the following on July 17, 1853: "Two births have occurred in the cases of Mrs. Dunsmuir, and the native wife of John Malcolm, labourer."

Alexander Dunsmuir was the first white baby to be born in Nanaimo and this bald announcement of his birth, with the addition "and to the native wife of John Malcolm, labourer," brings out to the full the stark reality of conditions in which the young Dunsmuirs spent their early days; although the Dunsmuirs became world-famous later, there was no doubt about their humble beginning—a fact of which they were always very proud.

We shall see, too, that the baby born in a humble mining cabin, surrounded by crude furniture, and with his thirst quenched from a nearby stream, in later life became a resident of the palatial Grand Hotel in San Francisco, and for his supper, he was supplied with a standing order of a chicken and a pint of champagne, served on a silver tray by an obsequious waiter. The romance progresses even further, for the mother who underwent the pangs of childbirth in company with the Indian wife of a labourer, later

became the chatelaine of a fairy story castle, with a retinue of servants at her beck and call, and the acknowledged first lady of Victoria.

However, to continue the story of early Nanaimo. Robert Dunsmuir had not been long in following the example of his kinsman in moving to Nanaimo. Truth to tell, Gilmour had been having considerable difficulty prior to his nephew's arrival. On May 20th, James Douglas wrote to McKay:

> Mr. Gilmour does not appear very successful in his research for coal, and moreover appears much dissatisfied with his lodgings, and his treatment generally, as he evidently considers himself slighted . . . I trust you will give him no cause of complaint . . . my answer is herewith transmitted . . . deliver it to him sealed.

Gilmour found conditions somewhat different at Nanaimo and missed the freedom of Fort Rupert where he had sole charge of mining operations, with his nephew to work alongside him. Now he had to be on terms of equality and at times even obey the directions of men like John Muir and McGregor who, on account of the fact that they had been longer by a few months at Nanaimo, were considered perhaps to be more informed about the coal workings of that particular district.

It was apparent that some of the men resented discipline of any sort, and also, Weston and Cook were particularly insolent. McGregor, another foreman, was also on bad terms with Gilmour, and when this latter departed along with Muir, Gilmour was left in charge. Then things progressed more favourably.

Furthermore, shortly afterwards, with the arrival of the Dunsmuirs, he once more acquired the society of his nephew and the good housekeeping of his niece. By this time he had found a good seam of coal at Commercial Inlet and work began to be more profitable.

MINERS' WAGES

Wages for the miners were now settled at £50 per year, which counting 310 working days, averaged out at 3/1 per ton. Douglas agreed that the men should have 2/9 per ton for the extra coal mined, but stipulated that they should take out more than the half ton which he considered "lazy bed system." He took at least three-quarters of a ton to satisfy his requirements.

DRUNKENNESS

McKay seems to have experienced some trouble with drunkenness; in particular with one Thomas Sagoyamatha who was insubordinate, and constantly in liquor. This man was returned to Victoria, but seems to have been little better for that as Douglas writes that he had just left on the return journey to Nanaimo "the worse for liquor and had never drawn a sober breath while in the Fort."

Whether this little delay affected Gilmour's request for wines to be sent him from the store at Victoria is not related; but Douglas replied that there were no wines to be had but that "he was doing his best to supplement Mr. Gilmour's request from his own private supply." So it is to be supposed that the worthy Mr. Gilmour was above such misdemeanour as over-indulgence in spirituous liquor.

An interesting fact about technical equipment during these early days was the introduction of the Kilmarnock Lamp, a great oil-saver, by Gilmour and Dunsmuir.

The settlement was growing. A doctor had been added to the establishment, and Dr. Johnstone had taken over. He had under his care both his Nanaimo patients and those who could not get attention at Fort Rupert.

In 1853 a school was started and Mr. Charles Bailey was sent up from Victoria as schoolmaster.

Governor Douglas also paid a visit to the new coal town during 1853, and on the whole seemed well satisfied with what he saw. Shortly after his visit, a steam engine arrived to work in the mine, causing great excitement among the settlers, because the frame for the engine had been made on the spot.

Another U. S. ship, the *Active,* called and took on one hundred tons of Nanaimo coal.

CAPTAIN CHARLES EDWARD STUART SUCCEEDS MCKAY

Joseph McKay's time was now up and the new officer in charge of the settlement was Captain Charles Edward Stuart. This new broom immediately set about a building program, and established a corps of carpenters, whom he busied at building houses, wharves, scaffolding for mines, and any other requirements that a community of Nanaimo's kind had need of. This gang was commanded by a man called Lebine, and was aided to some extent by the Nanaimo Indians who helped on jobs at which they could be trusted as well as in the coal pits.

The seam at Lerds Free proved to be of no value, and work was resumed at Newcastle Island where they commenced to "bore." Gilmour had previously had no success with rods at a depth of six and a half fathoms, but it was hoped that there would be a good yielding seam if the boring was to be deepened.

GILMOUR LEAVES FOR HOME

At length Gilmour's period of contract had come to an end and he was hankering for Scotland. He wanted the Dunsmuirs to return home with him, yet he knew that for young and energetic people there was a tremendous future in the New World. He therefore did not urge them to adopt any particular course, and when, surprisingly, Joan proved the champion of remaining in America,

he left for home shores, wishing his relatives the best of luck, and giving Robert certain sound advice.

He had not got on particularly well with his fellow workers, and had failed to make a great strike, but the good man saw no reason why his nephew should not succeed where he himself had failed.

With Boyd Gilmour's departure the young Dunsmuirs were left alone in the New World, but it was not long before Robert's hard-working character and definite knowledge of his job were to single him out among his fellow miners. First, however, we see him in another role.

DROWNING FATALITY

On August 25, 1855, a youngster named Ganner was playing on some log booms and fell into the water. He was sucked under and drowned before an Indian, who dived in after him, could bring him ashore.

This tragedy necessitated an inquest which was presided over by Charles Stuart, J. P., at which the following were jurymen:

John McGregor	Thomas Green	William Isbister
Jesse Sage	Robert Dunsmuir	John Meakin
Edward Walker	Thomas Cole	Leon Lebine
Matthew Miller	John Biggs	

These men were naturally forced to bring in a verdict of "accidental death by drowning."

WIDENING THE SEARCH FOR COAL

The Douglas Coal was rapidly gaining in fame the length of the Pacific Coast, and coal had been reached at the depth of eight fathoms on Newcastle Island. It was hoped that this would prove

of good quality, for the U. S. ship *Active* had sailed away to Port Townsend with a full load.

For a short time an attempt was made to mine coal on Protection Island, but this was relinquished and full efforts were concentrated on Newcastle.

All comers were clamouring for Douglas Coal, and there was a constant stream of visiting ships, to guide which a man named Lazaar was busy building beacons to buoy the harbour.

The most constant arrivals were the *Otter,* the *Recovery,* the *Beaver,* and the *Active.* The port was also visited by the *Lemesa,* the *Rob Roy,* and the *Red Rover* out of Dublin, while at anchor in Esquimalt harbour lay H.M.S. *Trincomalee* and *Monarch.*

UNREST AMONG THE MINERS

Considerable unrest was caused by American rumours of "gold for the picking." Throughout the Dunsmuirs' early days in America, their life had been adversely affected by rumblings from California. Since the Gold Rush days of 1849, the fabulous tales that circulated back of fortunes overnight for lucky newcomers caused great unrest amongst the miners as well as among others of the early pioneers. The ship carrying the little family had lost its crew to the California mines on arrival at Fort Vancouver; conditions at Fort Rupert had been very much affected by these same rumours; and now the first strike at Nanaimo owed its inception indirectly to the same cause.

THE MINERS' STRIKE

One day early in September, 1855, Dunsmuir was approached by a number of men who said they planned to quit work and go over to the States to see what they could make for themselves in that land "flowing with milk and honey."

It was an unfortunate time for Robert as he had shortly before

made up his mind to apply to Governor Douglas for permission to work on his own account, and any trouble of this sort would, in all probability, jeopardize his chances. However, he could only counsel the hot-heads against the idea and hope for the best. He had not long to wait.

On September 11th, York, Webb, Dunn, Harrison, Bull, John Baker, Meakin and Inches refused to work. On the following day Meakin, badly in liquor, was with difficulty persuaded from shooting his wife with a shotgun; and the next day the above mentioned men had all disappeared, it was surmised, to Bellingham Bay, leaving their wives and children behind them.

One of the worst features of the case had been a brawl during which Captain Stuart had attempted to handcuff the violent Meakin; but the miners had acted in support of their fellow workman, piling on to Stuart and dragging Meakin free. This was rank insubordination and a serious matter. Captain Stuart, naturally very much put out, wrote a very strong report on the whole matter and rushed it to Governor Douglas at Victoria.

During these eventful few days, Stuart was forced to discharge from the service a man called John Elliot, whom he decided was "a dangerous man to law and order." However, a few days later, on tendering an apology and promising better behaviour, Elliot was reinstated.

Dunsmuir's level-headed counsel had dissuaded a number of Scots from joining the strikers, a fact which they had cause to congratulate themselves upon when later the malcontents were re-engaged at a lower wage.

Another difficulty had arisen during the absence of the miners. The wives and families, who were housed by the Hudson's Bay Company, found themselves served with eviction notices to vacate their quarters and were beside themselves to know where they could go. They were naturally highly relieved when their runaway spouses returned on September 24th, with the exception of John Baker. The absentees had doubtless found that the tales of the Yankee Gold Rush had been much exaggerated.

Short of skilled labour as he was, Douglas had perforce to rein-

state them, but he saw to it that they undertook employment on considerably worse terms than those upon which they had previously been engaged.

So ended the first strike at Nanaimo, and following this, two of the men who had been against it, Dunsmuir and Ed Walker, applied to Governor Douglas to work on their own. Permission was granted and on October 12, 1855, Dunsmuir commenced his first independent operation.

Chapter 4

TROUBLES OF THE EARLY SETTLERS

One aftermath of the strike was the desertion of Harrison and Inches who sailed in the barque *Lemesa* on September 29th after taking on coal. They apparently had decided that Nanaimo was not for them, and that they would "sample the fleshpots of California."

But it was not only among the white population that Nanaimo had its troubles.

MORE INDIAN TROUBLE

The Indians could at all times be trusted to provide some cause for unrest for the white settlers, and about this time there was much coming and going among the tribesmen because of a huge feast that was being held in the vicinity. This feast was being organized by the Cowichans, and great anxiety was caused by the news that a large canoe stocked with strong liquor had been seen nearby. This news was brought in by "Old Joe," the She-shall Chief, who was anxious to sell some of his venison to the Fort. This episode had a sequel, and the slaying of two Nanaimo Indians with three of their women, presumably by the "Haidas," was reported.

Joan Dunsmuir had probably the second most harassing experience of her lifetime about this date. Coming not so very long after the kidnapping of young James, it might have forever sickened her of her savage surroundings.

Sitting in her house one day with her younger children about her, she glanced towards the open door to see a gigantic Indian standing there gazing at her. In his hand he carried a gleaming hunting knife. Horror stricken and helpless, because the menfolk were at the mine, she reached for her children, but otherwise remained calm, speaking no word to the frightening visitor. Ever a believer in prayer, she prayed as she had never done before.

When she looked up again, the Indian had gone, silently as he had come, and trembling with terror now that she had been delivered, she sought safety at a neighbouring house. It was afterwards established that the man had somehow got into the camp, hiding his knife in his blanket, and, bent on revenge for the supposed hanging of a comrade, had been seeking a likely victim. It was indeed a miraculous escape, and Joan afterwards put it down entirely to the intervention of a higher power on her behalf.

But among all these difficulties there were some successes. Robert was now doing well on his own account, and he was at work on what was known as "Dunsmuir's Level," a site slightly removed from the previous workings. Meanwhile, the remaining miners had desisted from working the old ground at Pemberton's encampment and were concentrating on Newcastle Island.

It was to this mine that the first horses were taken on arrival on November 8, 1855, in the *Black Duck,* whose cargo also contained twelve very welcome sheep, for which buyers were soon found at $4.25 per head.

During these early days Robert and his family formed a friendship that would later stand them in good stead. Young Mr. Arthur Farquhar, afterwards Admiral Farquhar, and an enthusiastic backer of Dunsmuir's ventures, was a constant visitor to Nanaimo. He usually arrived in the *Otter* and often stayed several weeks, during which time he helped Stuart with the administrative duties around the Fort, and on one occasion when Stuart was absent on an expedition with Dr. Thomas and Mr. Horne, Farquhar was left in full charge. This trip, undertaken by Stuart, very nearly ended in disaster, the whole party being capsized and nearly drowned. On their return they found the *Beaver* arrived from the

North, laden with a valuable cargo of furs, bound for Victoria. Stuart forthwith dispatched Farquhar with the books relating to the year's accounts for Nanaimo which required being passed and approved by Governor Douglas.

Shortly following this auditing an entry appeared in Stuart's *Journal* that must have been very encouraging to the young Dunsmuirs: "The *Otter* left for Victoria. All coal being shipped on board coming from the Dunsmuir workings." This was dated December 11, 1855.

Christmas time of this year proved a festive occasion, although there was a very hard frost and the inlet was frozen over. Although the twenty-fifth was observed as a holiday, the Scottish section of the community, who were used to holding Hogmany, also, took the thirty-first of December and the first of January, as was the custom in their native land. The *Active,* which was in for coaling, had to be content to be loaded by the Indian miners, their betters, we must imagine, being too much under the weather to undertake so strenuous a labour.

Two arrivals early in the new year were the *Emily Parker,* laden with flour which found a ready market at six dollars per hundred pounds, and the *Otter* again, this time with James Douglas aboard.

One of the governor's first duties on arrival was to call Robert Dunsmuir and Ed Walker before him, and ratify the contracts between them and the Company, at the same time congratulating Dunsmuir on the progress he had made since starting out on his own.

During Douglas' stay at Nanaimo, the *Rob Roy* arrived, carrying some of the miners who had deserted, namely, York, Jones, and Bevilockway. Douglas, after remonstrating with them and pointing out the error of their ways in so breaking a contract, re-engaged the men, but on considerably inferior terms.

THE FIGHT BETWEEN ROBINSON AND MCGREGOR

Shortly after the departure of the governor for Fort Victoria, a further incident occurred that illustrated that constant friction and bickering generally exists where a number of strong men are thrown together without outside diversions and amusements.

As was afterward related by the three witnesses, Stone, Mitchell and Hunter, Robinson had cause to speak to McGregor for slackness and short time, which criticism McGregor much resented. Turning on Robinson and calling him several bad names, of which "liar" and "hypocrite" were heard by the witnesses, Robinson was apparently incensed to such an extent that he picked up a hammer lying nearby and knocked McGregor cold. Much frightened, the onlookers ran to the help of the unconscious man, while one of their number summoned Dr. Thomas, who pronounced the wound far from fatal, and applied a dressing.

Robinson quickly went to Captain Stuart and confessed what he had done, saying that the man McGregor had driven him nearly mad with his taunting and name calling, while the three witnesses testified that McGregor had caused the attack through his own fault. Captain Stuart made a swift decision, and McGregor departed two days later to Victoria, a good thing for all concerned, as it seemed that even since the days of Gilmour, the man had been a constant troublemaker.

Two visitors from Fort Rupert came about the end of April—Blenkinsop and Hamilton Moffatt—with McNeill, and the Dunsmuirs were able to renew their friendships of earlier days.

The *Recovery* arrived with a cargo of molasses, while yet another addition to the menu was herrings, got in trade with the Indians at the rate of five barrels a blanket. These they salted.

A further desertion occurred, Alexander Fraser decamping with two canoes belonging to the Company, and disappearing no doubt for American shores.

Work at the "Dunsmuir Level" was marred by a severe accident to one John Work, part of a roof falling in and injuring his

spine and ribs, causing a partial paralysis. He was transferred to Victoria. However, on the whole the work at Dunsmuirs' was progressing very well, and was at this time yielding the best and largest quantity of coal yet obtained in Nanaimo, so successful, in fact, that Stuart decided to increase Dunsmuir's complement of miners, sending Meakin, Thompson and Bevilockway to work under him.

Meakin, who had had such an unruly beginning to his mining career, became very friendly with Dunsmuir later on, as we shall see, and was the miners' spokesman instrumental in presenting a gold watch to Robert on the occasion of his retirement from the management of the mine in 1864.

The work of exploration was also progressing favourably; Adam Horne and Toma Ouantomy undertook a long trip across the Island, getting as far as the Alberni Canal, while shortly afterwards J. D. Pemberton explored in the same direction.

However, the Indians were their constant trouble and in one rather horrible brawl a Kanaka, Toma Sagarawitti, got his finger bitten off in a set-to.

From the point of view of coal production, more troubles were to occur, and in July, 1856, there arrived from Bellingham Bay a visitor named Reed, the object of whose visit caused considerable speculation. When it transpired that York, Baker, and Webb disappeared together with the stranger, it was realized that the man with exaggerated tales of conditions on the other side had come over with the express purpose of luring the men away from their duties. A few days later a scow arrived to take the wives to join their runaway husbands.

In addition to these defections five men were allowed to depart to the gold mines at Fort Colville, having sent in their applications for discharge, and not being under contract to the Company. Three of these latter soon returned, having got no farther than Port Hope. The next desertion occurred in January, 1857, when both J. Johns and McCarthy took off, being in debt at the time to the Settlement Store for eight dollars and four dollars respectively. These two were pursued, caught and brought back in irons,

but so great was the labour shortage that they were soon released on condition that they work.

Such were the difficulties with which Charles Stuart had to contend during the early days of Nanaimo's coal industry. Desertions among the men, constant trouble with the Indians, exaggerated rumours of gold strikes in California and elsewhere all served to make his a very hard lot.

Miners on Vancouver Island were at a premium. Captain Colquhoun Grant, who originally came out in June, 1849, sent farm labourers ahead. These he employed at Sooke where he settled. In 1850 the *Norman Morison* brought about eighty souls, amongst them some miners for the Hudson's Bay establishments. In 1851 the *Tory* arrived with about one hundred hired labourers, chiefly farm labourers. Captain Grant, in his "Description of Vancouver Island," reckoned that of the four hundred men imported in the period of five years, about two-thirds had deserted, one-fifth had been sent elsewhere, and the remainder were employed on the Island. He estimated the population in 1853 at about 450, 300 at Victoria, 125 at Nanaimo, and the remaining few at Fort Rupert.

MURDER BY INDIANS OF A JEW

It is interesting to note here that the first Jewish man buried in the Jewish Cemetery, Cedar Hill Road, near Victoria, was scalped by the Indians.

Colonist, May 6, 1861:

The worshipful Master of Victoria Lodge 1085 hereby summons to meet at the Masonic Hall, Yates Street, one o'clock P.M. this day for the purpose of attending the funeral of our deceased brother Morris Price.

By order of the Worshipful Master
C. G. Southgate
Thomas C. Nuttall, Secretary

Colonist, May 7, 1861:

> The body of this unfortunate man, who was so cruelly murdered at Cayoosh, three months ago, was yesterday interred in the Jewish portion of the church reserve. The corpse, inclosed in a handsome coffin, was placed in a hearse and proceeded by the Victoria Lodge 1085 of Free and Accepted Masons. A number of friends of the deceased followed the hearse. On arriving at the cemetery the usual Masonic ceremonies were held, after which the burial service of the Hebrew Church was performed. The remains were then lowered to their last resting place. The whole ceremony was a very impressive one, and excited much apparent emotion in the breast of many of the participants who had long known and respected their deceased brother.
>
> This was the first Jew interred in the Hebrew Cemetery of this city.

Chapter **5**

NANAIMO GROWS—COAL BEING ITS LIFEBLOOD

From the small village of Colville Town, housing forty to fifty people in 1852, Nanaimo had grown in stages.

First the bastion had been completed in June, 1853, and now stood out boldly on a bluff surrounded by old cannon which, as far as was known, had only been fired once in 1855 at Stuart's command, the grapeshot tearing huge holes in the ground for the edification of the thunder-struck Indians.

After the bastion, the builders, Leon Lebine and Jean Baptiste Fortier, had gone on to improve the harbour facilities and to build more houses. These had progressed until 1866, when an article appeared in the *Nanaimo Gazette* which called for newer and better housing, as follows:

> Old Nanaimo is now in the sere and yellow leaf, limb after limb withering away; young Nanaimo is gaining in strength and proportion year by year.
>
> However, Nanaimo is still in its primitive state: Houses widely scattered as without design, and poor uncomfortable houses at the best; as for the streets we have nothing better than the Indian trail. Of the insides of these houses we have yet to speak, and we are sorry that a more favourable account cannot be given. The greater number present not the slightest appearance that their inmates intend a continuous residence, but on the contrary are mere tenants at will—stran-

gers in a strange land, without the slightest interest in the houses that shelter them or the town which they inhabit. Dark, dingy cribs are most of them, with furniture and utensils so few and so rude as barely sufficient to minister to the animal wants. . . .

And yet Nanaimo numbers among her denizens men of great social worth, who could play a manly and creditable part, had they only fair ground to stand upon.

There must be some cause for this pernicious "abandonment."

Later, the article attacked the Nanaimo maidens:

And now, Miss Nanaimo, you ragged, slovenly, careless wench, you are about to change your conditions of life, they tell us, and assume the responsibilities of a housekeeper. Apply the comb and brush to those dishevilled locks, my dear, arrange your attire in a more fashionable style, and walk with a more steady and graceful step.

And when you have work to do, roll up your sleeves, and set about it with a will and energy—and before long we shall have a much better account to give of you—and we shall feel an honest pride, if in after years, you should refer to us as your constant friend and advisor.

Besides this housing campaign there was a constant clamour for a new school house. Canon J. B. Good had taken over St. Paul's Church and Rectory, and the scholars were accommodated in an extremely small room, and pupils were crowded together for a considerable period, very much to the discomfort of teachers and pupils alike. Thus the establishment of a church and school added to the social amenities catering to religious needs and education for children. The school house was built with the aid of some of the $6,000 given by the Columbia Mission Fund in 1866.

Of course, the Indians were still constantly troublesome, and

had killed a white shepherd named Peter Brown near Victoria while he was engaged on farm work. For this murder a Nanaimo and Cowichan Indian were hanged at Gallows Point, Protection Island. The men were tried on board the *Beaver*.

The gold rush which had brought overnight prosperity to Victoria and temporarily multiplied the population many times, also brought an added demand for coal to Nanaimo, though the stories, of course, drifting in from the fields, did much to cause unrest among the miners to boil almost to fever pitch.

But to return to the Dunsmuir family: The change to Nanaimo was a great improvement to the unsatisfactory days of Fort Rupert. They were housed in one of the earliest dwellings built by the Hudson's Bay Company for its miners; in fact, until their kinsman Boyd Gilmour returned from Scotland, they had shared his house, and although rough in the extreme, the necessities of life and a certain communal society were to be found in Nanaimo.

Very shortly after Alexander's birth, the new settlement was constantly increased in population by similar events. However, perhaps none of the newcomers was to have as extraordinary, though short, a life as this young man. He had ability beyond the average as will be seen later, and had he not unfortunately given way to the temptations of a profligate set in San Francisco, where he went on his father's business, he would undoubtedly have gone far and lived longer.

For Joan Dunsmuir these early days were not all a bed of roses. She had her housekeeping to do, her children to clothe and feed, and her husband to succour and counsel in a community of rough and sometimes lawless men. But Robert himself was stable and hard-working—persevering. He had not come all the way from Scotland to go on strike or embark on a wild goose chase he knew not where. He quickly got the necessary permission to work on his own, and from that time on, although he was not spectacular at first, he never really looked back.

When in 1869 he found the exceptionally rich vein at Wellington, it looked as if his dreams of building a castle might eventually be realized.

It was not only in mining that Robert Dunsmuir spent his time; many and diverse were his interests—farming, real estate, and civic matters all claiming a share of his time and energy.

One of his fellow miners said of him:

> Robert Dunsmuir was a fine hard-working man. I have often heard it said he was very poor while in Nanaimo. That is all bosh; he was just as well off as any of the miners, no better and no worse. He took full advantage of opportunities when they came his way, and worked himself to riches and influence. I guess some people were jealous. The Dunsmuirs brought the first cows to this part of the country; they were called Blackie and Luckie and we boys used to have great fun with them. I was laid up for a time through following Jimmy Dunsmuir to the Maltstream. He ran through the bush and I, being smaller, kept right after him. He upset a wasp's nest and I was nearly stung to death.

It was this same John Meakin who, on the occasion of his retirement from managing the Vancouver Coal Company's Douglas Pit, years later made a speech lauding him for his good work with the men and presenting him with a gold watch from his fellow admirers.

PRESENTATION OF A TESTIMONIAL TO MR. ROBERT DUNSMUIR AT NANAIMO

Nanaimo, 20th April, 1864

EDITOR, BRITISH COLONIST: The miners of Nanaimo entertained Mr. R. Dunsmuir and family at a public tea meeting, held in the Institute last night. The meeting was made public, I understand, to allow an opportunity to many who were anxious to participate in and witness the ceremony of presenting a testimonial to the respected guest. An excellent spread of "creature comforts" was provided by some of the

good ladies of Nanaimo, to which full justice was done. Not the least amusing of this part of the performance was the admittance of about forty children, who were permitted to clear the tables of the remnants left by those who partook of the first course! This they did with a relish as keen as their appetites appeared to be.

The tables having been removed, Mr. John Meakin took the chair and in an amusing manner declared his inability to fulfill the post assigned him by his fellow workmen. He remarked that he was "no spokesman," and hoped the audience would "please excuse him." He said he had been requested to present to Mr. Dunsmuir the testimonial subscribed by the men employed at Douglas Pit, as a token of the great respect they entertained for their late overseer. He regretted being unable to speak as he would wish to do, and then formally presented the testimonial, which consisted of a beautiful gold watch and chain, on which was engraved the following inscription: "Presented to Robert Dunsmuir by the miners of Nanaimo as a token of respect."

Mr. Dunsmuir rose and spoke in substance somewhat as follows:

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I am quite at a loss to express to you my feelings at the present moment, and my thanks for the valuable testimonial you have so kindly presented to me this evening. Valuable as the testimonial is—it is not its value I speak of—but the value it has in proving your good feelings toward me, and which has created in me feelings and thoughts that can never be effaced from my memory. When I was amongst you I little anticipated this kindness, or that I had gained so much of your respect as exhibited towards me this evening, and of which I feel justly proud. Had I been leaving this place altogether, I should have felt just as though leaving my native home. But I hope I shall

remain many years among you, and still retain your good will as a neighbour. I am very thankful to you for this token of respect; and indeed to all present here this evening their presence here I am sure I may also read as a kind wish towards me. Let me once again thank you sincerely, and believe me sincere, when I wish each of you health and prosperity (not forgetting your wives and children) in your daily toil.

(Mr. Dunsmuir, it would seem, gave every satisfaction to the men under his charge during the time he superintended the mines here, and he, having resigned the situation, the workmen decided to present a testimonial as the best way to mark their appreciation of his conduct.)

The chairman proposed "three cheers for the Queen," which was heartily given, music for "God Save the Queen" after which three cheers were given for Mr. Dunsmuir, the guest of the evening, then music for "He's a Jolly Good Fellow."

The Rev. Mr. Good and the Rev. Mr. White, each at the request of the chairman, made observations suitable to the occasion, and showered eulogiums upon the honoured guest in an earnest and well-directed manner.

A change in the programme was here announced, and in a very few minutes the followers of Terpsichore were enjoying their favourite amusement. Dancing was kept up till midnight. "Three cheers for the musicians" closed an evening most agreeably and pleasantly spent.

Yours,
A Nanaimoite

This letter appeared in the Victoria *Colonist,* April 23rd, 1864.

The fame of Douglas Coal along the coast was spreading, and a vast number of vessels were coming into Nanaimo to load with the precious commodity.

The wharves and shipping facilities were being improved the

whole time, and even by 1858, one hundred and fifty tons of coal could be loaded by several vessels at the same time.

By 1860 there were three mines being worked at Nanaimo—Newcastle Island, No. 3 Pit, and the Parkhead level and slope.

Houses were springing up very rapidly and by this date there were about fifty houses in the settlement. The Dunsmuirs had built their own log house, moving out of the Company cabin in 1858. Their family was increasing; two daughters were added in 1862 and 1864.

The *Nanaimo Gazette* in 1865, speaking of Nanaimo and its flourishing shipping industry to San Francisco and elsewhere, extolled the "new and commodious wharves which allowed ships to be loaded from wharf-side without recourse to tender." The *Journal* saw in Nanaimo coal the germs of the wealth that built up the great towns of the English Midlands and North, and the Lowlands of Scotland. Just let the markets of San Francisco be solidly secured for Nanaimo coal and it could rival any town in prosperity along the Pacific Coast. This progress, it stressed, hinged solely upon the Vancouver Coal Company and the new lifeblood being injected in the shape of the Harewood Coal Company.

This latter was mentioned in the *Colonist* when its manager, Robert Dunsmuir, arrived in Victoria "with half a ton of coal from the new mine which he intended to have tested at the Gas Works." The coal was in large masses, some of which weighed from three to four hundred pounds. Blacksmiths who tried it pronounced it of good quality. However, the Harewood Coal Company was not to go very far as we will see later, and Dunsmuir, recognizing a lost cause, soon pulled out and again began prospecting on his own.

However, Nanaimo in 1866 was still very much in the rough. At this time the Vancouver Coal Company was under the management of C. S. Nicol.

The school house which the Company had built had given way to a new and better one, but the dwellings were in a very unsavoury condition, with unsanitary drainage. The lack of pumps

and proper wells for drinking caused an outbreak of smallpox which luckily was brought rapidly under control by vaccination and medical care, and thus did not cause the usual number of deaths among the Indians.

From a report by Canon Good, one of the doctors who was practising during his stay, brilliant but unfortunately very much addicted to strong liquor, died a drunkard's death.

Here a word about liquor—which proved such a factor for evil in the life of the early pioneers. The toil was of so exacting a nature that strong drink was an outlet that was only too easily grasped. Though Robert was certainly fond of a glass of whiskey and, during his trips to Victoria and later to San Francisco he used to have his share of sprees as did the others, he never became a slave to the bottle as unfortunately proved later to be the case with his son Alexander.

Among other items of interest in the Nanaimo of these days was the erection of a Roman Catholic church, which was built by Crough and Posey and consecrated by Bishop Demers, a famous figure in the history of British Columbia.

W. H. Franklyn was the presiding magistrate, who also held sway over the Cowichan District. He it was who constantly had to judge the Indians and teach them the meaning of law and order. On one occasion a band of Haidas had come down from the Queen Charlottes and was prowling around, pilfering where it could, and setting up an infernal howling at night, a testimony to the potency of the "tanglefoot" with which they were supplied.

Scales were installed on the wharf capable of weighing coals to the amount of one ton, and a visit from Mr. Bell of Falkner Bell & Company of San Francisco, seeking to buy coal for the San Francisco Gas Company, proclaimed, as far as the Nanaimo life-giving industry was concerned, that matters were progressing well.

Civic aspects, too, were being improved, and Alfred Waddington, the Inspector of Education, on the occasion of building a new

school said: "It was no wonder children looked with aversion and disgust on school as the old schoolroom was an opprobrium for the Colony." The land for this new school house had been generously given by the Vancouver Coal Company.

One of the bigger events in 1865 was a visit from Amor de Cosmos, who had journeyed from Victoria overland, partly to view the road and points on the prospering Island. The visitor was given a dinner at the large hall of the Institute, forty of Nanaimo's citizens being present. Several toasts were drunk, Robert Dunsmuir proposing "His Excellency, Governor Kennedy," and he also, coupled with Mr. John Bryden later, replied to the toast "The coal mines of Vancouver Island."

Robert was a good mixer and a congenial soul who liked his liquor in the company of fellows, and his good work in the mines undoubtedly made him an indispensable member of any gathering.

The wages of a miner at this time were 5 shillings, or $1.25 per ton, and unless a seam was at least 15 inches thick, it did not pay to mine it.

All this time, Dunsmuir was searching for the perfect seam, one that would make him so rich that he could ride in a carriage and buy his wife the castle of his dreams—but that was not to come about until 1869.

So commodious were the wharves and landing spaces at Nanaimo, that several ships could berth at the same time and either unload their goods or be coaled from the chutes, while their neighbours were likewise undergoing fair attention. Nanaimo, it was argued, could supply the surrounding settlements of Salt Spring, Cowichan and Comox and the Northern settlements, rather than Victoria, while even New Westminster was easier to reach than the capital city to the south.

The Vancouver Coal Company's Store had recently been taken over by a progressive firm, Cunningham & Company, who were doing a thriving business.

The penal system needed much review. The two small cells in

the bastion were unhealthy to a degree and the prisoner risked freezing to death if placed there in the winter. Thus any convicted felons had to be transported to the chain gang at Victoria, which was an unnecessary expense, besides depriving Nanaimo of possible labour recruits for road-making and such heavy work. A jail was definitely needed as was a new school house.

For this latter undertaking, it can be noted that Waddington, the educational inspector, had already an authorization of one thousand dollars, and more was in the process of being raised from local citizens. A good firm of architects, Wright and Sanders, had undertaken the construction. Now Cunningham Bros., too, had just built a new store on Bridge Street, the builders being Gordon and Blessing.

The press had a war on against gossip—"Of all the slanderous little back-biting places in which we have lived this is the worst"—and indeed all the little signs that went to make up "a town in the making" could now be seen in Nanaimo.

It is interesting to note that the election in England had just resulted in a victory for the Liberals. An election was soon to come to Nanaimo. The representative in the legislature, Bayley, had been a dismal failure and the town people were bent on getting better representation. Two candidates were now put forward; one being Cunningham, representing Robert Dunsmuir and his party, consisting of Hume, Grant, Gordon, and Webb; and the other, a man named Ring, put forward by C. S. Nicol and James Sabiston.

Dunsmuir is seen to the fore in civic matters at a meeting in the New Institute Hall, where he argued that it was absurd that only one committee meeting a year was held; and that the bylaws and constitution were so inaccessible that only the officials knew anything about them.

An interesting argument took place about this time; the *British Columbian* of New Westminster and its neighbourhood discussing mining costs worked the figures out as follows:

Cost of mining and bringing to pit mouth:	$1.21
Average per ton for running roads, gangways, etc.:	.29
Cost of lift at shaft per day:	.25
Cost of delivery on board ship:	.25
Cost of superintendence:	.25
Total:	$2.25

The *Nanaimo Gazette,* however, argued that they were vastly wrong with their figures, and besides, the Nanaimo miners got $1.32 for simply mining the coal, and were far better off than the Burrard Inlet miners of British Columbia Coal Company.

These figures reminded one of a hark backward into the past for at this time a letter of indignation from a correspondent appeared saying that poor old Coal Tyhee had been evicted from church on Sunday. An enquiry into the case was thereupon held.

In a letter of explanation, the Reverend Canon J. B. Good said: "Even if the whole contents of a druggist's shop had been transferred to the church, the odour of old Tyhee was so terrible, that either he had to leave, or all the congregation in his neighbourhood would have left in a body." The old man, he added, only came out of curiosity and besides, the Indians had facilities to worship nearer their own camp.

GROWTH OF A PORT

The crusade for developing the Port of Nanaimo and its city was now full under way, and the Press pointed out that for ships to come direct to Nanaimo in ballast, without calling at Victoria, with all the expenses there incurred, would be of direct benefit to the Nanaimo merchants as these ships would bring the goods they needed without the necessity of handling by the middleman in Victoria.

To continue with the proposed election: A meeting was held

at the courthouse, presided over by the magistrate, Mr. Franklyn, and the two candidates were introduced; Dunsmuir proposing Cunningham, seconded by Gordon and C. S. Nicol proposing D. B. Ring. Cunningham was chosen.

Besides political and coal mining duties, Robert Dunsmuir was also a good farmer and grew some wonderful potatoes and turnips on his land, which the ships' people were only too glad to buy. Adjoining his farm a hunter, Rory Cameron, had just shot two large black bears in excellent condition.

THE MORAL TONE OF NANAIMO

Two matters were very recurrent in the moral atmosphere of Nanaimo at this early stage: The first was the sale of adulterated whiskey, more usually known as "tanglefoot" to the Indians and the second was the traffic between the Indian women and white men. These women were known as "klootchmen" and were a nuisance to the community, for through their white "husbands" they were able to get whiskey, and in their turn supplied their "tillicums" to the general detriment of the tribe.

The more moral among the townspeople realized that interbreeding with the Indians was a disgrace to their community, and an affront to their women and children. There were constant letters to the Press and sermons in the church against the practise, while as to the first of the two evils—selling liquor—was an easy way to make money quickly, though the consequences for being caught were severe.

The children of these mixed marriages were a problem, as they always favoured the mother whose traits were predominant. Should the father die, the family was left penniless to go back to the tribe from which the mother came, or be a burden to the community. These evils undoubtedly existed in Nanaimo to a certain extent, but malicious gossip made them seem much worse. Although the new settlement might resemble an English coal mining village, and such scandal seem like village gossip, here

there was much more malice and edge to the rumours and more harm done.

NANAIMO BOASTS A LAUNDRY

The newspaper at this time carried a standard advertisement of a laundress, and we are left to wonder if perchance Joan Dunsmuir, thinking sometimes of the early days when she washed for so many, decided that the time had come when she could afford to send out at least some of the things to the laundry.

One day Robert surprised his wife mightily for he handed her ten dollars, and pointing to all the washing hanging on the line, said: "You look tired, lass. Maybe we are not in a castle yet, but next Monday James is taking those clothes over to Mrs. Smallbone who, as you know, has set up as laundress, and from now on she will do our washing. I'm making good money and you have plenty else to do without slaving at the wash tub."

Truth to tell, Robert's affairs were prospering, and although he had not yet found the mine of his dreams, he was drawing good money from his coal ventures; his farm was more than feeding his family and paying its own way, while his frequent real estate deals left him none the poorer.

An advertisement in the *Free Press* of March 30, 1866, read:

> FOR SALE: Those desiring building Lots with a frontage on Commercial and Bastion Streets, being Lots 2 and 3 of Block 59 the most eligible building sites in Nanaimo (for terms which are extremely moderate), apply to Robert Dunsmuir.

He was one of the chief supporters of Mr. T. Cunningham, and with Mr. Bryden, the Chairman of the Literary Institute, and Mr. Gordon, its Vice-President, he was a power behind any undertaking that might be projected.

He had not yet bought a boat but that would come later; meantime his friends Cunningham and Harper had bought the sloop

Ringleader and were seeking to make trading excursions among the Indians in the north of the Island and prove that it was not essential to carry a large supply of "tanglefoot" to trade successfully.

A tender was put forward at this time for a Presbyterian church and Reverend Robert Jamieson was appointed minister.

The Literary Institute, with President John Bryden and Vice-President M. Bate, could be hired for dances, lectures or concerts at a very reasonable figure, and was quite roomy—50 feet by 25 feet by 15 feet. The Institute business was criticized rather severely at times, "then came the business of the evening, the most important of which was a long discussion about nothing." Great dissatisfaction was expressed relative to the wording of a report supposed to have emanated from the Committee of Management for 1865 which regretted the fact that the Building Committee had not done their duty, etc., etc. The report was "uncalled for and injurious to the extreme, and on being put to the committee proved not to be the voice of the members. It was drawn up in a dramshop an hour before the meeting and left on the bar for the inspection of the members, should they drop in."

The Burrard Inlet Mines had failed to yield any profit and the British Columbia Mining Company was winding up its business.

As for the Harewood Mine it was thought that "a sudden growth and more rapid development would follow or proceed simultaneously."

As to business with the Indians, the man Spillhawk, another of the Thorndyke murderers, was caught and sent to Victoria for trial.

An advertisement for clothing illustrates the fashion of the time:

CHEAP CLOTHING

Just received direct from England, suits, coats, vests, pants, carlisle capes and overcoats, ladies paletots, house-jackets, and mantles, dresses, silk, mohair, and fancy winseys, striped

skirtings and haberdashery, etc. The whole to be sold very cheap for cash only. RAYBOULT & SHAKESPEARE.

By this time there was a mail steamer, *The Maude,* running between Victoria and Nanaimo, and almost all visitors arrived and left by this means. Later she was to be replaced by the more modern *Cariboo Fly.*

Among the most constant visitors were Colonel C. F. Houghton, who later married Marian Dunsmuir, and Captain Egerton, who came to look after his interests in the Wellington Mine.

As for entertainment, the Institute Hall was a scene of some theatrical shows, as well as constant concerts for charity, one such described as "crowded to repletion with a fashionable and appreciative audience." The Dunsmuir family were outstanding performers at these concerts, even before Mrs. James and her brother came from the southern states to add to the talent. One such is described:

> Then followed one of the gems of the evening, a duet, "Gypsy Countess," by Miss Dunsmuir and Mr. G. D. Harvey —Miss Dunsmuir singing solo in a sweet and clear soprano, with precision. In the choruses the pleasing soprano blended in harmony with the clear baritone of Mr. Harvey, making this one of the most pleasing efforts of the evening and receiving deafening applause, while "My Bud in Heaven" by Miss Dunsmuir held the audience spellbound and they listened to every syllable, and received with hearty and prolonged applause.

This particular concert was a farewell to the Reverend J. Reynard, Rector of St. Paul's Anglican Church.

On the theatrical side, Fanny Morgan Phelps presented a show called *Milk White.*

The Justice of the Peace changed about this time; Captain Ferguson took the place of Captain Franklyn. The new magistrate was called upon to try two murders. A woman and a half-breed

boy were the victims; the doctor called in for this occasion was W. Macnaughton Jones.

As for general topics, from 1874 onwards, there was a constant stream of rumours and speculation about the proposed railway, news coming from Ottawa.

> Bute Inlet route selected for Railway. Line will run via Blue River and Thompson, provided Hunter's survey satisfactory. Surveys completed this year, work commences at Bute Inlet and Esquimalt in June or July.

Then followed the news that the Premier did not know when or where the Railway would commence. Actually it did not become a fact until 1884.

The only other remaining item of interest at this time was the Indian "Potlach" or "huge feast" in which tons of sturgeon and salmon were consumed, and thousands of blankets were let out at exorbitant rates. This "Potlach" went off well, the white man taking care not to interfere with the Indian tribal ceremony which was described as "Cloosh Potlach" for the surrounding tribes.

Chapter **6**

THE WELLINGTON MINE

Perseverance, as has already been stressed, was one of Robert Dunsmuir's main attributes. He had known all along that the Harewood Mine, although great things had been hoped for it, would ultimately turn out to be a disappointment to its backers. Therefore, he had not maintained his interest in it for any length of time.

From his experience to date, he realized that somewhere in this rich country lay a seam that would really pay dividends and yield a much bigger harvest than those that already were now being worked. He strove to find this with all his might, but the actual discovery came quite by chance.

James Dunsmuir's account of the finding of the Wellington Mine is as follows:

> One evening my father was sitting in Harvey's store at Nanaimo where people used to congregate and smoke and talk, when a man named Jimmy Hamilton came and said to him: "Come out to Diver Lake with me tomorrow and have a fish." Father consented and the next day drove out to the lake. Hamilton sat down to fish, but when father had tied his horse he went prospecting around on his seemingly endless search. When he came home that evening he said to mother: "I've found coal. Tomorrow I'll take old Isbister and I'll have it certain before I come back."
>
> Next day with Isbister he drove out to the spot he had marked the day previous. On the side of a little cliff he had

noticed favourable indications. They traced it down, first the conglomeration, then the sandstone, then the shales, and finally the "crop."

He had the coal.

After that he took two miners in with him, John Rodenfel, and a man named Birmingham. They ran in a top seam about two feet and a half and it proved of little account. The other two got discouraged and went away, but father remained.

He commenced to dig around in the neighbourhood and at the foot of an old tree he found black dirt. A foot and a half below the surface of this he found the coal outcropping. He went back a few feet and ran a tunnel in, and laid bare a ten foot seam of coal. He was overjoyed.

In a letter to H. L. Langevin, Minister of Public Works, Robert Dunsmuir writes:

When I was in the bush, in the month of October, 1869, not exactly for the purpose of prospecting for coal, but being thoroughly acquainted from past experience with all the coal formation in this country, I came across a ridge of rock which I knew to be the strata overlying the lowest seam that had as yet been discovered here. A short time afterwards I sent two men to prospect, and in three days discovered a seam of coal 3 1/2 feet in thickness, 30 feet below the tops of the ridge, dipping S.E., one foot in six.

After procuring from the government a right to further prospect, I sunk a slope 97 2/3 in the seam, and mined therefrom about 500 tons, twenty-five tons of which were taken on board of H.M.S. *Boxer* for trial. The same quantities were taken from the Vancouver Coal Company's Douglas Pit and Newcastle Mine.

Andrew Watt, the engineer of H.M.S. *Boxer,* made a lengthy report which pronounced in favour of the Dunsmuir coal.

Hubert Bancroft, in his history of the Pacific States of North America, reports that Dunsmuir found coal in several other places, once among the fallen roots of a tree, under which was a valuable seam. Robert Dunsmuir estimated the yield of this new field to be about 7,000 tons to the acre.

In a further test, Andrew Watt reported: "With Dunsmuir coal the throttle was nearly wide open, with Newcastle and Douglas from one-third to one-half open."

So success had crowned his efforts at last, and at the same time the keenness of Dunsmuir's business instinct comes to the fore. Realizing that he could not capitalize on his find without interesting some private individuals possessed of substantial bankrolls, he looked around until he contacted one Wadham Neston Diggle, described as of the Army and Navy Club, London, England, and a lieutenant on H.M.S. *Grappler*. With him in 1871, Dunsmuir executed a deed of partnership. The mining venture at Wellington thus became known as the Dunsmuir, Diggle Company.

ROBERT DUNSMUIR IS SOUND IN ALL HIS JUDGMENTS

A slight digression to illustrate Dunsmuir's sound judgment might here be in order. After leaving the Vancouver Coal Company's employ, he had undertaken to prospect on behalf of the Harewood Company over the ground which after developed into the Harewood Mine. This mine, originally financed by Captain Horace Lascelles, was afterwards taken over by Captain Bulkley of aerial tramway fame.

Dunsmuir, early in his operations, had turned in an unfavourable report on the Harewood property. The adverse opinion was proven by the successive failures of Lascelles and Bulkley, the latter an English surveyor of considerable ability and experience who later was to condemn the Goldstream watershed in favour of Elk Lake as a source of water supply for the city of Victoria.

R. E. Gosnell, the historian, says of him: "As a coal prospector

and expert, Dunsmuir justified his judgment in every project that he rejected as well as in every one that he undertook."

Later, in 1873, he took two other gentlemen into partnership, one Arthur Farquhar, later Admiral, and since early days a friend of Dunsmuir. He contributed $12,000 and the other, Captain Frederick Wilbraham Egerton, put in $10,000. With these partners Dunsmuir set about an enterprise which was to make him the founder of a gigantic fortune, and one of the largest coal owners of the Northwest.

The Dunsmuir, Diggle Company, at Wellington, immediately set about exploiting their wares. Five acres were set aside for coal sheds at the shoreline and a strip of shoreline was acquired—56 feet wide—for a tramway or railway to connect with the shipping. A short time later, when these sheds had been completed, an addition to the wharfage and frontage for loading improved supply operations 100 per cent, and permitted the loading of several vessels at one and the same time. The following ships were regular callers at the Wellington Mine: the *Remijao* from San Pedro, the barque *Union* from San Francisco, the barque *Constitution* from Ounalaska, the *Wellington* and the *Edwin*.

The *Otter* returned about this time from Wrangel with ninety miners from the Cassiar gold hills, and there being a strike at the Vancouver Coal Company, she took coal at the Wellington Mine and continued to Victoria.

On Wednesday, April 15, 1874, the first number of the *Nanaimo Free Press* was published by George Norris from a Store Street address. It was arranged to bring a publication out on Wednesdays and Saturdays.

Early issues dealt with Nanaimo's one absorbing industry—coal. In 1873 the Vancouver Coal Company had turned out 45,728 tons, and the Wellington, managed by the Dunsmuir, Diggle Company (though only just commencing) turned out 16,108 tons during the same year.

Statistics for the first three months of 1874:

VANCOUVER COAL COMPANY

	Shipped to San Francisco	*Shipped to Victoria*
January	2339 tons	1567 tons
February	2867 tons	973 tons
March	4450 tons	1384 tons

DUNSMUIR, DIGGLE COMPANY (WELLINGTON)

	Shipped to San Francisco	*Shipped to Victoria*
January	2216 tons	488 tons
February	1275 tons	545 tons
March	2433 tons	359 tons

Thus it will be seen that the Dunsmuir, Diggle Company, especially in the San Francisco market, was holding its own with a considerably older rival. The fame of the Nanaimo Mines having reached San Francisco, the *San Francisco Scientific Press* wrote as follows:

> The various coal mines in and around Nanaimo are doing well, judging from the amount of coal they are turning out. Dunsmuir's mine and the Victoria Coal Company's mine are turning out about 140 tons a day.

The *Nanaimo Free Press* comments:

> We would inform our contemporary and the public that the coal mines in this vicinity, viz. the Douglas, Wellington and Newcastle Mines, are taking over 350 tons per diem. The Wellington (Dunsmuir's) Mine alone takes out 140 tons a day.

An example of quick loading is here cited: On Monday, Messrs. Dunsmuir, Diggle and Company of the Wellington Colliery placed on board the ships "Top Gallant" and "Grace Darling" 728 tons of Wellington coal. This certainly shows that this enterprising firm employs great dispatch. Companies can put coal on board faster than the vessels can trim it.

Dunsmuir, Diggle are shipping on the *Shirley* a sample block of Wellington coal weighing two tons, to be placed in the office of Berryman and Doyle in San Francisco. It will be handy to throw at the hoodlums when they again get rampant in that city, and is hard and solid enough to crush the disorderly element out of existence. *Tramps Beware!*

In face of the enormous receipts of coal from Great Britain and Australia to San Francisco, Nanaimo more than held her own, though prices were kept low by the scarcity of wheat in Europe which allowed the vessels to bring coal as ballast. From Nanaimo in 1876 there were 76,536 tons, which figure was 27,087 tons more than in 1875, and 59,000 more than 1874. One such an armada reported at Departure Bay, loading Wellington Coal, named the ships *Washington Libby, Garnet,* and *Iconou*—with the *America* expected.

As for Nanaimo itself, the town was growing apace, but the state of the roads and bridges was terrible, as shown by a letter to the paper which said: "Why someone failed to break a leg in the big hole by Mr. Dunsmuir's house was hard to believe."

The family had grown. In 1872 Dunsmuir had his friend Gordon build him a new house which he called "Ardoon," and in which he lived until he took his departure for Victoria. The family consisted of Elizabeth and Agnes, the two little girls who accompanied them from Scotland; James and Alexander and five more daughters, Marian, May, Emily, Effie, and the youngest, Maud. There had also been a child who had lived only a short time.

It is with the sons that we are most concerned in the short

history of the Dunsmuir family. James had been a great help to his father in the mine and was an able workman, while Alexander seemed more likely to succeed on the office side of the business. In addition, he had spent a good deal of time in Victoria, and later was sent as manager to his father's office in San Francisco. It was decided to give James a military training and he was sent to a military college—Hamilton Academy at Blackberg, Virginia—and here it was that he later met and married his charming American wife, Laura Surles of Fayettesville, North Carolina. At the age of sixteen James went into a machine shop and learned a trade. He boasted at sixty that he never forgot his craftsmanship. He could handle any tool with the best. When he was twenty-one he accompanied his father to the mines and after a time was placed in charge, while Robert stationed himself at the shipping point.

In an interview about 1910 he stated that he remembered weighing the first coal ever shipped to San Francisco from the Wellington in the ship *Cesarewitch,* and that he paid six dollars a ton freight on it. The coal was laid down at the wharf at six dollars and sold in San Francisco to agents who in turn disposed of it to the retail trade. It finally cost the consumer about twenty-two dollars a ton.

He also said that at first his father was well satisfied with thirty tons a day, and would remonstrate when it was increased to forty tons. But they persisted and it was increased to fifty, then sixty, until finally they reached five hundred tons in a day. After that James could not take out coal fast enough to suit his father who, at first, had been fearful of the market and its powers of absorption. As time went on the market rapidly broadened and coal was in great demand.

James himself learned the coal business beginning at the bottom rung of the ladder and going up through all the stages. When he finally inherited the business from his father and his brother, he was undoubtedly the greatest mine owner and the richest man on the Pacific Coast.

Knowing the bottom of the scale as well as the heights James

was able to judge his employees and talk to them in their own language, and his grasp of the intricacies of the mine management caused his opinion in such matters to be sought on divers occasions by other less able owners.

Nanaimo as a town was rapidly outgrowing the days when it consisted of little else but a few grimy cabins, the Hudson's Bay stores, and the bastion with its old "muzzle-loading cannon."

In 1875 the first municipal election, originally suggested by Alexander Dunsmuir's letter to the legislature the previous year, took place. Two candidates were nominated: Mark Bate and James Harvey, lately resigned from the position of postmaster.

The poll was held on January 18th and voting was close. Harvey first gained ascendancy on a show of hands; but on a poll being called for by the Bate contingent, their champion was elected mayor by 118 to 101.

The new mayor gave a champagne supper at Peck's Hotel inviting all the council and the Press.

Robert Dunsmuir was not backward in the civic life of the community and about this time was asked to preside at a dinner in honour of the 116th anniversary of Robbie Burns' birthday. He was called upon to speak and obliged them, saying that he had been in many parts of Scotland where the poet's memory was revered and had even seen the house in which he had lived. He was indeed glad to see so many present to do the great man honour.

Mr. Joseph W. Planta received the appointment of head teacher at the Nanaimo school, a post for which he was well qualified as he had been vice-principal at Victoria College. Later his son married Mr. Gordon's (the builder) daughter. Mr. Gordon was also a great friend of the Dunsmuirs. The writer is indebted to his daughter for some interesting data pertinent to this story.

Plans that were in the making at this time were the telegraph from Victoria to Nanaimo, and, of course, the long talked about railway over which there was so much controversy and so many arguments and which did not actually become a fact until taken in hand by the intrepid Robert Dunsmuir in 1884.

The bridge over the ravine, so long a topic of discussion, was finally completed in October, 1875, when Mr. Bulkley had completed his aerial tramway and suspension bridge.

The old *Maude* had given way to the new and luxurious *Cariboo Fly,* a steamer 126 feet long with a 22-foot beam width. It had a large and handsome saloon on the upper deck with accommodations for thirty passengers. She could do the trip from Victoria to Nanaimo in three hours less than the *Maude.*

There were many improvements noticeable in and around the Wellington Mine in 1875. The owners had just ordered from Philadelphia a new sixteen-ton locomotive which was shipped from San Francisco on the *Washington Libby,* while much new and commodious wharfage had been added.

To this thriving town came the young James Dunsmuirs in 1876. They had married in the United States and returned home aboard the *City of Panama.*

The *Cariboo Fly* was specially chartered to bring back the bridal couple from Victoria to their new home. They were accompanied by Miss Dunsmuir and the bride's brother, Mr. W. P. Surles.

There was great rejoicing and welcoming for the young folks in the mining community and it was not long before Laura, or "Mrs. James" as she was afterwards called, became a favourite with one and all. She soon charmed concertgoers with her sweet songs of the South.

At one such Institute concert the Press report stated:

> "The Moonlight is Beaming," by Mrs. James Dunsmuir and Miss Cooper, was enthusiastically encored as were Mr. W. P. Surles' comic songs "The Fellow That Looks Like Me" and "Josephus, the Orange Blossom." Mrs. James Dunsmuir's sweet and pleasing voice was heard in the solo "Waiting," then followed "Old Zip Coon" by W. P. Surles, a masterhand, and "Down Among the Coals" with his sister singing "Where Can All This Music Be?"

It was natural that such talented artists should be greatly appreciated in such a music-loving community. The young couple from the Southern plantation were made very welcome in every home in Nanaimo.

But unfortunately coal, not music, was the most important thing in the life of the pioneers who made Nanaimo, and dark clouds were looming on the horizon.

Coal did not command nearly such a good price as it previously did in San Francisco where, until now, Dunsmuir, Diggle interests had had matters practically all their own way. Rival companies were striving to oust them from competition and grab the market for themselves.

In July, 1876, Dunsmuir, Diggle Company was forced to reduce the price paid to the miners digging coal from $1.20 to 81 cents per ton.

THE MINERS STRIKE

Naturally, this did not suit the miners and they sought to have the original price restored. Dunsmuir could not do this.

Costs of shipping had risen considerably, and coal was fetching only $8.00 to $8.50 a ton in San Francisco. The mine was turning out about 60,000 tons a year, or 5,000 a month, all of which the owners had to sell at considerable profit to themselves to be able to pay their labour, machinery, and freight costs. Of the 240 men employed, only about 100 were mining coal.

When miners realized that the owners were going to stand firm and not yield to any threats of intimidation, they approached Dunsmuir with a demand that they be allowed to appoint an arbitrator, but this only infuriated the mine owner who took it as a reflection on his own ability to handle his workmen and replied that "he would allow no man to arbitrate on how much wages he paid his men."

In February, 1878, a considerable number of the men went out

on strike. Dunsmuir replied by immediately "laying off" the strikers and running the mine on three shifts.

He also applied to San Francisco for fifty to seventy-five more workmen, chiefly Italians. The following letter from Dunsmuir to A. C. Elliott, the Attorney General, was dated April 20, 1877:

> My dear Mr. Elliott:
>
> Your letter to hand. If the law cannot be carried out, I shall have to shut down the works for 12 months, and if there is not something done next week I shall do so. We have been put to too much expense for want of proper force and in haste.
>
> Yours truly,
> Robert Dunsmuir

He kept his word and the mine was shut down. Still more unpalatable to the strikers was the order that they should vacate their houses. The houses were the property of the Company and would be required for fresh men being brought in who were willing to work.

This caused great resentment on the part of the miners who marched to town together with some of the newcomers they had persuaded to their way of thinking. Considerable rioting ensued.

A report from the *Daily Alta* of California follows:

> Our neighbours up North propose to have their law and order sustained, and rioting by strikers put down with a strong hand. The miners at Nanaimo appear to have carried the strike to a length which requires the Government to forcibly intervene, and it has determined to do so.
>
> To quell the rioting at Nanaimo it has ordered two companies of infantry numbering 60 men, with 20 rounds of ball cartridges issued, to go from Victoria, and a company of infantry and field battery from New Westminster. A gunboat in full war array will form part of the expedition; also a body

of police and deputy sheriffs to enforce law at all hazards, to arrest the rioters and take them to Victoria. The men have a right to quit work, but they have no right to add rioting to that act, and they deserve punishment.

The owners of the Wellington Mine cannot be accused at any time of misleading the miners in their employ as to their set purpose of meeting force with force, and no half measures. On February 13, 1877 the following appeared in the *Free Press:*

NOTICE

There is an impression in the community that we are obliged to accede to the miners' demands: but for the benefit of those whom it may concern we wish to state publicly that we have no intention to ask any of them to work for us again at any price.

Signed: Dunsmuir, Diggle & Co.

The strikers sought by every means to prevent any miners from working for the Company. The "blacklegs" who persisted in doing so were known as "nobsticks."

In March, Dunsmuir had requested Government aid in the following letter to the Attorney General.

Departure Bay
March 6, 1877

My dear Mr. Elliott:

Your letter to hand, and in reply I beg to state that we have no objection whatever. In fact, we should very much like that Sir Matthew Begbie would come up and enquire into the late disturbances which the miners lately in our employ engineered, and the sooner he comes up the better for all concerned. We have a lot of men now in Victoria at heavy expense, and cannot bring them up here unless we get protec-

tion from the Government. My son Alexander and Mr. Bryden will explain matters to you. Trusting you will send the *Rocket* back immediately. In haste.

Yours truly,
Robert Dunsmuir

The gunboat was sent up with Sheriff Harris who served an ejectment process on twelve of the miners who were living in Company houses.

With the assistance of twelve marines, George Furness and a Mr. Griffiths were ejected, but they were unsuccessful with the others. An unruly mob met them and followed them to the house of Theodore Davie, lawyer, and there serenaded Dunsmuir and Sheriff Harris on tin cans. One sang "The Death of Nelson."

The Sheriff had perforce to leave to collect reinforcements in Victoria, where the following excerpt from the *Colonist* showed the attitude of the people there.

> So far as concerns the retention of the house property of the Company by the miners, the act has lost them the sympathy and support of Victoria, if not of Nanaimo.

The next ejection attempt was made with a party of militia under Colonel Houghton, who went up to Departure Bay in H.M.S. *Grappler*. Four more miners were ejected, but the soldiers were attacked by a party of 150 to 200 men—armed with sticks and stones. A melee ensued. Some men were nearly pushed over the bridge and fatally injured. Finally, six were ejected. Twenty-six men had arrived from San Francisco in the *Dakota* as reinforcements for the Wellington Mine, but on arrival were met by the leaders of the strikers and persuaded to leave. Their return passage was paid by the Strikers' Committee.

When the matter finally came up at the Assizes at Victoria it was tried before Justice Gray and Chief Justice Begbie.

TRIAL AT THE ASSIZES COURT

Witnesses for the mine owners were Robert and James Dunsmuir, John Bryden, Frank Little, and W. R. Spalding.

The grand jury found true bills against seven indictments: those of Alex Hoggan, Hoskins, Thompson, Williams, Edwards, Jenkins, and Phillips. Hoggan got four months; the remainder were dismissed with cautions. The charge against them was "unlawfully and without legal authority compelling divers persons engaged by Dunsmuir and Diggle as miners to abstain from lawfully performing their work according to their said agreements."

Theodore Davie appeared for the prosecution and Barnston for the defence.

Adams, Smith, and Knight were charged with forcing one Osborn, by abduction, not to work.

THE WELLINGTON TROUBLE

The following letter, from the *Nanaimo Free Press* of March 31, 1877, explains the viewpoint of the community:

Editor: *Free Press.*

Sir:

Will you be kind enough to give me a little space in your valuable columns to explain to the public mind what I consider to be the present aspect of the strike at the Wellington Mine, and to state in the first place that, as a working man there, with a wife and family to support, I think I have the best right in the world to express what I believe to be my convictions about a state of affairs, which if persevered in, cannot fail to entail a legacy of poverty and misery for a long time to come, not only on men and their families not directly interested in the price per ton which the miners receive, but also on many of the miners themselves, who are not very

well supplied with the funds necessary to support their wives and children during a lengthened strike.

The strike was made at the instigation of not more than half a dozen men, whose names I could mention, and was not at all according to the wishes or inclinations of the great bulk of the men, who were as a general thing making better wages in fewer hours (as they have often told me) than they had ever done in their lives, and were quite satisfied with their places; but it is a well-known fact that if even one coal miner makes a proposition to stand out for increase of wages, whether right or wrong, the whole crowd are bound to follow —each man being afraid of expressing a contrary opinion lest he should be called a "black leg."

This was the case in the present strike, and it would have been ended long ago and the men been peaceably at work again at the old price, if some of the leaders of the strike had not gone to extremes and made charges through sheer malice against Mr. Dunsmuir and the managers of the mine, which were fully disproved before a full bench of magistrates.

These men of course know very well that they will never be employed again at any price, and are now selfishly striving to involve the whole of their fellow miners in general ruin and distress, in order that they may have the miserable satisfaction of believing that they are putting the masters to a little trouble and expense; but if the miners of Wellington who I know want to work, will take my advice, they will quietly go to those disturbers of the general peace, and say, "Gentlemen, you have done enough; we are quite satisfied with your efforts; but go back to your gold mines, and for God's sake stay there; and then we may have the peace and general satisfaction back again, which we always enjoyed before you came amongst us."

A Working Man

A further sequel to this strike was a libel action brought by Robert Dunsmuir against George Norris of the *Nanaimo Free*

Press. This arose from the report of a speech by one Uriah Hockyard by the *Free Press* in which the following appeared:

1. But after a while the cars increased in size and the weight decreased, and they had to get rails, ties, and props and at last compelled to work two in a room.
2. He closed his remarks by stigmatizing Mr. Dunsmuir as an untruthful man.
3. He finished his remarks by alluding to some "docking" that had been done in his coal.
4. Dunsmuir had cheated these men every way he could.

By mutual consent all words after "decreased" were struck out in the first paragraph, and the third paragraph entirely.

The defence put in a plea of justification. James Dunsmuir and Frank Little (after to become the Dunsmuirs' "right-hand man") were called as witnesses.

Furthermore, John Bolton charged the Dunsmuir, Diggle Company with using false and defective weights.

DUNSMUIR, DIGGLE & COMPANY CONTINUE TO THRIVE

The driving force and perseverance that were the factors behind Robert Dunsmuir's success in his search for coal continued to help him make the Wellington Mine and his newly formed Company a going concern.

The strike was behind him, and although his methods were direct, and he would tolerate no criticism or compromise, he was fair in the treatment he gave his workmen, and repaid loyalty and good service with its correct rewards.

James was of considerable help to his father in the management of the mines. His knowledge of machinery stood them in good stead in the handling of much of the equipment with which they now equipped their works.

The following notice ran for a time in a prominent place in the *Nanaimo Free Press:*

> Strangers visiting Departure Bay or Wellington are strictly forbidden from riding on the cars of the Wellington Colliery Railway.
>
> Dunsmuir, Diggle & Co.

It would seem that some adventurous spirits were in the habit of treating themselves to free rides on the coal cars, a habit not at all to the liking of the proprietors.

If James was a capable machinist his father was still very much to the fore in all matters pertaining to mining knowledge as is illustrated by his appearing at this time (March, 1881) as examiner of five applicants who were about to sit for their Mine Manager's certificate.

Throughout his life many may have questioned Robert Dunsmuir's manner of handling his affairs; but none casts any doubts about his practical mining knowledge.

The Report of the Inspector of Mines was made public on February 19, 1881, and that upon the Wellington Collieries was as follows:

Output for 12 months ending 31st Dec. 1880		189,861.13/20 tons
No. of tons for home consumption		26,872
No. of tons for export		162,668
No. of tons on hand January 1, 1880		4,442.10/20
No. of tons unsold, including coal in stock of January 1, 1881		4,764.3/20
Number of hands employed:	Whites	259
	Chinese	266
Wages, per day:	Whites	$2 to $3.75
	Chinese	$1 to $1.25

Miners' earnings per day: $3 to $4
Value of Plant: $245,000

Description of seams, tunnels, levels, shafts, etc.

Six to ten feet thick, 7 levels working, 1 shaft working, 1 not working, 1 sinking.

1 slope working, 2 air shafts, one of these with large furnace at bottom; other ventilating fan 30 feet in diameter driven by a pair of engines.

Description and length of tramway plant, etc.

Ten miles of railway, 5 locomotives, 150 wagons, 5 stationary engines working, 2 engines not used at present, 4 steam pumps, 5 wharves for loading vessels, with bunkers, etc.

Dunsmuir, Diggle & Co.
Wellington Colliery, B.C.
14 June, 1880

This report covers only the equipment at Wellington Colliery. Dunsmuir, Diggle & Company possessed many other valuable properties, one of which, the fine barque *Cassandra Adams* was sold in March, 1881, to Mr. John Rosenfeld of San Francisco for $70,000 "on account of third parties."

The question of "drawback" on the powder used at the mine comes in for considerable attention from Mr. Dunsmuir during 1881. This "drawback" was allowable by the Dominion Customs.

DRAWBACK

Messrs. Dunsmuir, Diggle & Co. of the Wellington Collieries notify all miners who have not yet been paid their drawback on the powder used, to apply for same personally or by order, at their Office at Departure Bay.

Robert is also seen in print in a letter to the *Free Press:*

Editor, *Free Press:*

In your article in last Saturday's issue relative to the drawback on powder, you convey the idea that we applied for the drawback on powder which we imported and not on the quantity consumed.

This is a mistake, as at the time we were handed a form to fill in by the Deputy Collector at this port, we had imported through two firms in Victoria and by ourselves, 3100 kegs; but we only applied for the drawback on 1000 kegs, which were actually consumed.

We are at a loss to know what technical informality was in the affidavit, as the form received from Mr. Peck was in no way altered and was duly signed by Mr. Heathcote, who holds my power of attorney for transacting all Custom House business in connection with our firm, said power of attorney being filed in the Custom House at Nanaimo.

Mr. Editor, there is something very fishy about this whole business and I have not done with it yet, but enough for the present.

R. Dunsmuir.

(Our intention was simply to show that the delay was principally caused by the fact that application could not be made until the powder was consumed, and not that the application had been made for a drawback on the importation.)

James Dunsmuir and his family were still living in Wellington but now it was decided that on account of the fact that Mr. Heathcote was transferred from Departure Bay, where he had charge of the shipping of the coal, to a post in the San Francisco office, the James Dunsmuirs should move to a home in Departure Bay so as to be on the spot.

In James' place, as manager of the Collieries, was Mr. J. Bryden. The residents of Wellington, although they had only known the bride of the eldest Dunsmuir son a short time, were very fond

of the sweet young Southern belle. James, too, was held in considerable esteem and recognized as a good workman, and an honest, if forthright citizen. It was decided to offer them a testimonial and farewell dinner on the occasion of their leaving Wellington.

A sumptuous supper was laid on at the Foresters' Hall and, during the evening, James Dunsmuir was presented with a handsome watch and chain, and his wife with a silver tea service. An account of the evening and programme follows:

PRESENTATION TO JAMES DUNSMUIR, ESQ.

On Friday evening a large number of the residents of Wellington sat down to a sumptuous supper in the Foresters' Hall. The hall was very tastefully decorated with evergreens, festoons, etc. Mr. T. White acted as chairman and Mr. F. Wild as vice-chairman. After ample justice had been done to the delicious viands, catered by Mr. T. Wall, mine host of the Wellington Hotel, the principal event of the evening took place, viz; the presentation to Mr. James Dunsmuir, from the residents of Wellington.

"Mr. Scott read the following address and made the presentation.

"Wellington Colliery,
"Wellington, B.C.
"February 4, 1881

"James Dunsmuir, Esq.
"Manager of the Wellington Collieries:
"Dear Sir:

"The occasion of your retirement from the Underground Management of the Wellington Collieries, to assume charge of the shipping and loading business of those Collieries at Departure Bay is deemed a fitting opportunity to express the high regard and esteem in which your able services in that

capacity are held by the employees of the Wellington Collieries throughout the settlement.

"During the several years that these mines have been under your control they have increased in magnitude, until they now hold the proud position of having the largest monthly output ever reached in this province.

"In your more immediate connection with the employees of the Collieries, you have acted in a most considerate manner, making the safety of miners, and thereby the safety of the mines, your especial study and care. In your intercourse with those under your charge you have been most courteous and gentlemanly while to your assiduous supervision and attention much of the harmony and security of these Collieries is due.

"Many of us have watched your advancing career with feelings of pride, and the same feeling finds expression at your present advancement, although it will deprive us of a manager we have learned to respect and honour.

"As a slight mark of our appreciation of your able services and gentlemanly demeanor, we beg you to accept this gold watch and chain; and as a small token of the high esteem and respect in which your amiable and neighbourly wife is held, we request your acceptance of this silver tea service on her behalf.

"To yourself and Mrs. Dunsmuir we extend our earnest wishes for continued health and prosperity; and trust that your honoured parents may long be spared to control the magnificent works that energy and enterprise have built up in this district.

"J. Beaven, J. Walker, J. Robson, R. Scott, J. D. Jones, C. Beck, E. Smithurst, R. Aitken, T. White, J. Nicholson, J. Haggart, R. Freehy, J. McInnes, J. DeBenditi, J. G. Stewart.

"COMMITTEE."

Mr. James Dunsmuir responded: "In reply to your flattering address, allow me to express my sincere thanks for your very valuable presents to Mrs. Dunsmuir and myself, and we will ever cherish them as a pleasing memento of the past few years." He continued, saying he hoped to be long connected with the Collieries and would always take a deep interest in the welfare of the employees. Again thanking them for their kind words and valuable testimony, he resumed his seat.

The first toast was to the Queen and the Royal Family, proposed by the Chairman.

"Army, Navy and Volunteers," proposed by Mr. Carstairs and responded to by Captain James Harvey.

Song—"The Miller of the Dee," by Mr. J. Morris.

"Success to the Coal Industry," proposed by Mr. George Norris and responded to by Mr. R. Dunsmuir.

Scotch song by Mr. Ramsay.

"Bar the Door, Oh," by Captain Harvey.

"My Father's Hat," by Mr. Perry.

"Health and Prosperity to Mr. J. Dunsmuir and Family," proposed by the vice-chairman and responded to by Mr. James Dunsmuir.

Mr. Churchill proposed the health of Mr. R. Dunsmuir and family, coupled with the success of the Wellington Colliery.

Mr. R. Dunsmuir returned thanks for the kind toast and said that few things had given him greater pleasure than meeting with them this evening. It was gratifying to him to know, from the kind expressions towards one of his family who had a share of the management with himself, that such harmony existed at the Wellington Collieries, and trusted it would long continue. In a few weeks his son would be succeeded by Mr. Bryden, and he felt sure that he would act as justly towards them as his son had done. He thanked them for their kind wishes towards his family and for the success of the Wellington Collieries and wished all the employees and their families continued health and prosperity.

The programme then continued:

"The Crocodile," by Mr. C. Loat.

"The Island Home of an Englishman," by Mr. R. Gibson.

"My Lover's Come Home," by Mr. S. Hudson.

Mr. Carstairs proposed the health of Lieutenant and Mrs. Diggle, and was responded to by Mr. R. Dunsmuir.

"The Flowers of the Forest," by Mr. Clarkson.

The Chairman proposed the health of Mr. A. Dunsmuir.

Song: "For He's a Jolly Good Fellow."

Mr. G. Thomson proposed the health of Mr. B. Heathcote, to which that gentleman responded.

"The Old Musketeer," by Captain Harvey.

Mr. Hudson proposed the toast to Mr. R. Scott, the underground superintendent, and that gentleman replied.

"Johnny Sands," by Mr. Garland.

"Noah's Ark," by Mr. G. Thomson.

"In the Cottage by the Sea," by Mr. H. Adams.

Recitation: "A Gentleman of Hereford," by Mr. Carstairs.

"Our Invited Guests," proposed by Mr. J. Walker and responded to by Mr. Norris.

"The Residents of Wellington," proposed by Mr. R. Gibson, response by the Chairman.

"The Ladies," proposed by Captain Harvey and responded to by Mr. B. Heathcote.

"The Press," responded to by Mr. Norris.

"Our Host and Hostess," response by Mr. T. Hall.

Mr. J. Carstairs proposed "the Chairman and Committee," responded to by the Chairman.

This brought the regular programme to a close, but the enjoyment continued for some time after.

The watch and chain, and tea service (six pieces) were obtained from C. E. Redfern, Victoria, and are really beautiful articles. On the watch was the following inscription: "Presented to James Dunsmuir, Esq. as a mark of respect by the employees of the Wellington Collieries, Feb. 4, 1881."

Everything passed off in a very pleasant manner and great

credit is due to the efficient committee and caterer, who were most assiduous in their attentions on the guests of the evening.
(*Nanaimo Free Press,* February 9, 1881)

The James Dunsmuir family, besides being popular in the district, were themselves building a family of their own. Their eldest son Robin had been born at Wellington on August 21, 1877; the following year, during a visit to her parents at Little River Academy, North Carolina, Mrs. James Dunsmuir gave birth to a girl, Sarah Byrd (named for her grandmother who belonged to that famous Southern family) on November 22, 1878, and called for short "Byrdie." So like her father, Byrdie Dunsmuir was born on American soil.

Robert was leaving more and more of the active management of his coal mines to his son James and Mr. Bryden, while Alexander looked after business in San Francisco. Shortly we come to the period when Robert commenced to interest himself in politics and also became involved in the project that so many others had been unable to undertake—the construction of a railway from Nanaimo to the South.

ANOTHER STRIKE AT THE WELLINGTON MINES

In February, 1883, trouble again commenced with the miners who sought an increase of fifteen cents a ton; later they changed this demand to 12.5 cents with more in bad places. Dunsmuir paid them a total of 90 cents with increase in bad places, and after some discussion agreed to make it up to the 12.5 cent increase asked, but the miners now rejected their former figure and the result was a general stoppage of work in the mines.

Upon the failure of negotiations, Dunsmuir telegraphed to San Francisco for one hundred miners to fill the places of the striking men.

The Vancouver Coal Company had opened the "West Welling-

ton," a project situated between the Dunsmuir, Diggle land and that of R. D. Chandler.

There was a certain amount of heated controversy between the two companies, the bone of contention being the Departure Bay Railway. An amicable settlement was reached after discussion between the two owners.

All during this period a constant stream of ships had been coming and going, laden with coal from Departure Bay, and the Wellington coal was making a fortune for its lucky and persevering owners.

The *Empire, Barnard Castle, Annie Kemp* and *Hylton Castle* were some of the ships engaged. The *Hylton Castle* made her last voyage after a goodly number of years in the coal trade, discharging her cargo at San Francisco and sailing for England to be replaced by the steamer *Wellington* sailing out of Newcastle-on-Tyne on March 2, 1883, with full load of passengers and cargo. The passenger list, it was stated, could have been filled three times over so great was the rush to colonize Washington and Oregon. More than 200 persons applied for transport. The *Wellington* was a fine ship—rated A-1 at Lloyds.

A change in ownership at the Wellington mine took place in this year. The following notice appeared in the *Colonist* dated September 14, 1883:

NOTICE

Mr. W. N. Diggle, having withdrawn from the firm of Dunsmuir, Diggle & Co. doing business at Departure Bay, Nanaimo, the business will in future be carried on under the name and style of R. Dunsmuir & Sons.

R. Dunsmuir

So the last of the partners had been bought out for $600,000—a very wonderful yield for the few thousands Diggle had originally contributed.

Chapter 7

FAMILY LIFE DESCRIBED
THE RAILWAY IS BUILT

A trip to San Francisco with Sir Alexander Campbell and possible discussion between the two men may have been responsible for the press news that "Mr. Dunsmuir confirms the report that an exploratory survey would commence on the proposed railroad as soon as Chief Engineer Hunter returned from Eagle Pass."

From this period onward, Robert seems much more interested in his work as member for Nanaimo and his plans for the railway, and he is more and more content to leave the management of his mines in the capable hands of his eldest son, James.

A short digression into the news of the times might be interesting to readers at this point in view of its particular interest at a much later date to one of James Dunsmuir's children. It concerns gambling at Monte Carlo. Dated May 9, 1883, from the *Colonist:*

> Monte Carlo is nearly as full as ever and looks like London on the shores of the Mediterranean. S. Lewis is the only big player, his stakes being, as usual, 20,000 francs a coup. This gentleman not long since won £20,000 but afterwards lost the whole of it as well as another £10,000 about the same time at one of the gambling hells at Nice.
>
> Small players have still a great superstition about lucky numbers. A gentleman well-known in society received a ticket in the vestaire for his hat and stick; going into the concert

room, he found himself a seat with the same number as on his ticket. This was too much for him so he at once proceeded to a roulette table and put a louis on the number, which turned up at the first coup.

This glance into the gay life of the Continent is interesting to compare with the later history of the James Dunsmuir daughters. Each a rich heiress in her own right, they spent much time at the European places of amusement, and Elinor won fame as a gambler at the tables of Monte Carlo, Nice and Cannes. At a date when it was rather unusual to see a lady gambling heavily at the Casino, the figure of "La Riche Canadienne," as she was called, dressed in her black, mannish-looking smoking jacket and skirt, could be seen between such notable players as Jimmy de Rothschild and the French millionaire Citroen, wagering huge stacks of "plaques" with the nonchalance of a veteran gambler.

From the year 1883 the two Dunsmuir families were separated by the distance between Departure Bay and Victoria. Robert moved to Fairview, the family home on Menzies Street and James busied himself with the multitudinous tasks of management at the mines.

The young Dunsmuirs had settled into their life in the mining community and Laura Dunsmuir, nee Surles, after her visit to her plantation home in North Carolina for the birth of her eldest daughter, Byrdie, was content to interest herself in her husband and her family and seemed happy and at home among the people of Nanaimo. In later days she often said that the happiest days of her life were passed in the simple surroundings and small family duties at Departure Bay.

Mrs. James (as she was often called later in life, when the more familiar Mrs. Jim was perhaps unseemly) soon bore another daughter, Joan Olive, who lived but two and a half years and is buried in the family plot in Nanaimo cemetery.

The young wife, as a mother, was allowed little rest. Two daughters were born in quick succession: Elizabeth Maud, who is still alive as Mrs. John Hope and Laura Maye, also living, now

Lady Bromley. The eldest daughter, Sarah Byrd, Mrs. Guy Audain, mother of the author of this book, died at Pau, France, in 1925.

All these children, in addition to a baby boy, Alexander Lee, born in 1885, who survived but six months, were born to the James Dunsmuirs in the short space of less than ten years, so it would seem that life for the young woman was a succession of babies interspersed with occasional household chores.

But to those who remember the young lady from the Southern states, her sweet voice at their sing-songs and her still sweeter actions and willingness to help friends in need, the days that the young James Dunsmuir children played around their mother "in the big house" and when James took his morning walk to his office, punctual as clockwork like his father before him—they remember happy days.

The young mother was helped in her job of caring for her offspring by a nursemaid, one Josephine Harper, daughter of Joe Harper of Harper's Saloon. A busy time poor Josephine had looking after the young people and seeing that they went to school and that they left their home when the time came, ready to face the pitfalls that lay in the paths of young persons travelling far and wide to complete their education. At an early age the young ladies were sent off to school in England and later to study in Germany. Only Laura May went to New York for her finishing studies.

Many alive today among the older inhabitants will remember the days of the James Dunsmuirs, who, with families like the Harpers, the Bates, the Gordons, the Plantas and the Harveys, were the pioneers of present-day Nanaimo.

Meanwhile, only a few miles away in Victoria, a two-hour journey today but a good half-day by sea in those times, Robert Dunsmuir was busy with his politics, the plans for his railway and building the castle of his dreams.

His wife, Joan Olive, could now see the possibility that her husband's words, so bravely spoken many years ago, might indeed

come true. Those two had come through hard times together and were now entering comparatively smooth waters. They had a large family, some happily married; they had wealth, position and they had earned the respect of their neighbours. Besides his political achievements, however, Robert was to leave his mark even more forcibly on the history of Vancouver Island. The railway, so long a matter of discussion and planning, was to be a reality before his death.

Lord Carnarvon, a former colonial secretary, had suggested that the Island should have a railway, but the Senate had negated the suggestion and considerably incensed the people of Victoria and Nanaimo thereby.

Lord Dufferin then took upon himself the task of smoothing matters over and journeyed himself to Victoria via the United States. After a chilly reception and some awkward incidents to the vice-regal party, his Lordship departed in some dudgeon and sent in his report condemning the project.

Matters remained in this indefinite state for some period; the members of the Legislature and some of the more prominent citizens who realized that nothing would come of further representations to Ottawa decided to approach Dunsmuir and ask him to undertake the job.

Robert was in no hurry to accept such a responsibility and took his time, waiting till the Marquis of Lorne, Governor-General of Canada, paid his promised visit to British Columbia.

It may be that this high official was finally instrumental in persuading Robert to commence the project, great work that it was, but one would prefer to think that it was his sense of responsibility to the people he represented and among whom he had become a name for stability, honesty and right dealing. He saw, too, that the development of Vancouver Island, rich in coal, timber and with fine agricultural prospects, depended upon the execution of this planned railway.

Joan was a tremendous influence in her husband's life. It might be rather amusing here to chronicle an episode to illustrate that

Robert Dunsmuir bore a healthy respect for his wife's ideas and that to evade some of her stern measures where his libations were concerned caused him quite a lot of thought and cunning.

It was at the time of a visit from Sir John MacDonald, the Canadian Prime Minister who had come West to pay a visit to his old friend Dunsmuir and at the same time officiate in the inaugural trip on the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway. The distinguished party, including Lady MacDonald and Mrs. Joan Dunsmuir, had taken train from Victoria and stopped at Shawnigan Lake where Sir John proposed to drive in a golden spike as a token to prosperity. Both men were anxious to celebrate the "christening" in the customary manner with a convivial drink.

The two wives, however, seemed to be of an entirely different frame of mind and rode herd on their respective husbands with such success that it was impossible for them to open a single bottle. Nanaimo was reached and the men's thirst had become well nigh unbearable but Dunsmuir had thought out a wily plan.

Suggesting to Sir John that he might like to see the famous mine shaft from a closer view, he asked the ladies if they wished to accompany them down the mine, at the same time making ostentatious display of the overalls that would be necessary for the grimy journey and stressing that the dirt to be encountered would possibly be so great that water and soap would be necessary immediately.

Mrs. Dunsmuir quickly said that she wouldn't be seen dead down the dirty mine shaft and Lady MacDonald seconded this decided opinion. The two ladies retired to await the return of their male partners.

But truth to tell the good women had a long wait for at the bottom of the mine shaft, six hundred feet down, the "christening ceremony" was progressing to some tune and the case of Scotch whiskey that Robert had had the foresight to cache against just such a happening, was disappearing at an alarming rate. But Robert, though at times a hard drinker who liked his sprees, was not a drunkard.

THE BUILDING OF THE RAILROAD

Although Ottawa had originally apportioned $750,000 and the Province was willing to turn over two millions acres of land which had been promised to the Dominion Government for the construction of the Island section of the Transcontinental, Dunsmuir insisted that he should handle the whole matter in his own way.

He interested the Big Four of the Southern Railroad in the Vancouver Island project, and when the contract was signed, besides the names of Robert and James Dunsmuir and John Bryden, all of Nanaimo, there were added the names of Charles Crocker and Leland Stanford of San Francisco and Collis P. Huntingdon of New York. Mark Hopkins was also interested in the deal.

Typical of the Dunsmuir love for brevity and lack of pomp, the following letter of commission was dispatched to the civic engineer, Joseph Hunter.

Victoria, 30 April, 1884.
Joseph Hunter, Esq.

As engineer-in-chief you will at once proceed with the location of the line between Esquimalt and Nanaimo in accordance with agreement between Dominion Government and Esquimalt Railway Company of which I am president. You will be expected to locate the line with the view of local expenditure in construction consistent with good work, and to carry on work to completion without delay. You will be responsible for all expenditure in your department, returning proper vouchers, duly signed, to this office; and report to me your progress on the work as often as possible.

Yours truly,
Robert Dunsmuir.

The work was in hand; the railway on the way.

The following is extracted from various sections of *History of*

the Pacific States of North America, Volume 27, British Columbia 1792–1887, by H. H. Bancroft.

The railway contract that was made in 1883 for the E & N Railway called for a subsidy of $750,000 together with a liberal grant of land. The land was on the Eastern side of the island, bounded by straight lines drawn from the head of Saanich Inlet to Muir Creek, on the Fuca Straits, thence West to Crown Mountain, and thence North to Seymour Narrows, and on the East by the coastline to the line of commencement, including all coal, coal-oil, ores, stones, clay, marble, slate, mines, minerals, and substances whatsoever thereupon, therein and thereunder.

From the tract there was excepted the portion lying to the northward of a line running east and west half-way between the mouth of the Courtenay River and Seymour Narrows.

For four years, commencing from December 19, 1883, the entire grant, excepting of course the mineral lands, was to be open for agricultural settlement at the rate of $1.00 per acre, the government issuing preemption records for 160 acres to actual settlers. For further information see Act relating to the Island Railway, the Graving Dock and Railway Lands of the Province (Approved December 19, 1883) in Stat. B.C. 1884, 62, 64, 67.

In the same statute it was enacted that the Dominion Government should take over and complete, and operate as a Dominion work, the dry-dock at Esquimalt, being entitled to the lands, approaches and plants belonging to it, and the appropriation of the Imperial Government, paying to the province the amount expended or remaining due for work and material, and a further sum of $250,000.

In order to finally settle all disputes, with the Dominion, it was also enacted that 3,500,000 acres, in the portion of the Peace River district, lying east of the Rocky Mountains and adjoining the northwest territory of Canada, should be transferred in one rectangular block to be located by the Dominion.

The character of the E & N Railway was to be in all respects equal to that of the Canadian Pacific. With the same gauge, the alignments, gradients, and curvatures being the best that the physical features of the country would permit, the grades not to exceed 80 feet to a mile. The width of cuttings was to be 20 feet, and of

embankments 16 feet. All bridges, culverts, etc. were to be of ample size and strength, equal to the best description of work on the Canadian Pacific Railroad.

Sufficient rolling stock, and all buildings necessary for the accommodations of traffic were to be furnished by the contractors of the E & N Railway.

Finally in August 1883, a contract was made with a party of capitalists for the construction of the Esquimalt and Nanaimo railway and telegraph line, with a subsidy of $750,000, the amount to be contributed by the dominion government, together with a liberal grant of land, the capital stock being $3,000,000. The contractors were required to commence work immediately, and to complete and equip the line on or before the 10th June, 1887, time being declared as the essence of the contract; and in default of such completion within date specified, the contractors were to forfeit the subsidy, land grant, and the amount to be deposited as security with the receiver-general. The road, with its equipment, was to be exempt from taxation for ten years after completion, and all the material used in its construction was to be admitted free of duty. The character of the line was to be in all respects equal to that of the Canadian Pacific, and the company was required to maintain it in running order, and to work it "continuously and in good faith."

Although he in no way regarded himself as a financial mogul, Robert Dunsmuir frequently proved he was no slouch "at negotiating a financial deal of considerable magnitude."

His friends recognized this competence in handling money matters and shortly after he and his wife had returned from San Francisco on the *Queen of the Pacific* he was shown ample proof of this high regard.

Looking out of his window at Fairview one day to see what all the noise was about, Robert found a huge crowd assembled before his door. The employees of the Albion Iron Works, accompanied by the Victoria Amateur Band, had formed a line in Government Street and marched to his residence to serenade him to mark their pleasure at his return.

It is always nice to be a popular citizen in the community.

Soon, a contemporary of Dunsmuir also found his way into the public eye. From the *Colonist* of April 23, 1884:

> Mr. Wm. Wilson (W. & J. Wilson) leaves today for England. Mr. Wilson has not absented himself from the Province for eleven years, during which time he has seen this fair city emerge from a position of comparative poverty to one of importance and wealth. Victoria has few citizens as loyal to her interests as Mr. Wilson and no one whose presence she can so ill dispense with, even for a brief period.

It is true that Victoria was emerging from the state of "just another outpost in the New World" into a position of importance and security on the Pacific Coast, second only to San Francisco.

Dunsmuir did not let the grass grow under his feet and a few days after his return to the Province, summoned both his son James and John Bryden from Nanaimo to attend the first Directors' meeting.

The meeting of the provisional Directors took place at the Company offices at the corner of Broughton and Government streets.

Robert Dunsmuir was elected president and Charles F. Crocker, vice-president; the Company solicitors were Davis and Pooley, and the bankers, the Bank of British Columbia. Charles E. Pooley was elected pro tem secretary-treasurer.

On May 6, 1884, Division No. 1 of the Island Railway surveying corps left the office to attend the driving in of the first stake.

This ceremony was to take place at the same spot near the Esquimalt Indian Village where, in 1875, an ex-missionary played the "fantastic trick" of driving in the first stake, although the railway was not to be commenced for another nine years. The *Colonist* decided that "it was consoling to know that the stake driving in this case would be real and not a sham." The engineer in charge at the ceremony was Charles E. Perry, his assistants were R. C. Cridge and J. Graff. The assistant leveller was J. Leacroft.

Another name well known in British Columbia is mentioned

in the news on May 8th of the important year 1884: "Hon. Mr. Justice Crease arrived by mail steamer Tuesday to preside at the County Court Wednesday morning. He is still compelled to wear his arm in a sling, not having fully recovered from the accident which befell him on an earlier visit to Nanaimo."

Some distance from the above-mentioned scenes, a Dunsmuir name appears in the news on May 9th: "Judge McCreight, having been bitten by a poisonous insect in San Francisco, became sorely ill. The great kindness shown him by Alexander Dunsmuir and care taken of him in St. Mary's Hospital saved him from serious effects."

Chapter **8**

ALEXANDER DUNSMUIR

From The *San Francisco Call*—dated Tuesday, February 13, 1900.

Romance of a Vancouver Millionaire

MOTHER OF LITTLE EDNA WALLACE HOPPER FOR NEARLY A SCORE OF YEARS WAS THE SPOUSE OF ONE OF THE GREAT COAL BARONS

For eighteen years no word of his marriage escaped to the gossips of a curious world

Lying in plain view on the pages of the Palace Hotel register, where they were placed last evening, are the names of Mrs. Alexander Dunsmuir and James Dunsmuir, her brother-in-law. To the casual guest of the hotel as he idly turns over the pages of the register, glancing along the line of names they contain, killing time with his lazy purposeless inspection, these names mean nothing. To those acquainted with the Dunsmuir family history and the mission that has brought James Dunsmuir and his sister-in-law to this city they conjure up the history of a romance beginning at the altar amid the chimes of wedding bells and ending at the same place amid the somber light of funeral tapers.

Years ago there drifted to the bleak shores of Vancouver Island a poor miner by the name of Robert Dunsmuir. He had nothing

but the pick he carried over his shoulder and the few weeks' provisions he had brought with him to last him on his prospecting tour. He was looking for gold and he found none. But if he did not find gold he found something almost equally valuable. He discovered that the mountains in which he was wandering contained coal of the finest quality and that the deposit was practically inexhaustible in quantity.

Robert Dunsmuir, though poor and unlettered, had a deal of good common horse sense. He realized the value of his find, and taking into partnership with himself one or two who had the means to acquire and develop the property he set himself to work to build up a fortune.

He succeeded so well that when he died, about ten years ago, he left behind him an estate which ran way up into the millions, and a reputation of having been the richest man in the entire Northwest.

Among the children that were born to him was a son, Alexander. This son, as were all the children of the fortunate miner, was given the best education that money could buy and fitted in every way to carry out the ambition of his father, which was to have the family among the first in the country socially as well as financially.

Alexander proved to be all the father could wish, and led the uneventful life of the average young business man until about eighteen years ago, when he came down to this city to attend to some business matters connected with the firm of R. Dunsmuir's Sons Company. Here he met his fate in the person of Mrs. Josephine Wallace, the handsome young widow of Wallie Wallace, a well known young fellow, who during his life had been a law student in the office of W. H. L. Barnes in the daytime and had acted as head usher of the Old California Theater in the evenings.

It was a case of love at first sight, and the more Alexander Dunsmuir saw of his dulcinea the stronger grew the bonds of his affections. He knew the social aspirations of his father, and he knew that these aspirations were shared by his mother and that a marriage contrary to their wishes and approval would mean his disinheritance. But love was stronger than cupidity, and, after a brief courtship, he secretly married the object of his affections and installed her in a beautiful house that he built on the Souther

Stock Farm, near San Leandro, which place he purchased for his bride.

There she lived for many years as a widow, devoting herself to the education of her daughter, Edna, a child by her first husband, who subsequently entered upon a stage career, married and was divorced from De Wolf Hopper, and is now famous throughout the length and breadth of the United States under the name of Edna Wallace Hopper.

At the time of the purchase of the Souther farm considerable comment was excited by the building that was erected on it as a residence. The house is one of the handsomest across the bay, and it was thought at the time of its construction that its cost would swallow up the fortune of the supposed widow. No one then knew the fortune that was backing up her expenditure.

Last December Mr. Dunsmuir found that his secret was leaking out, and as it was only a question of time before the whole romance would become known, he announced that he had been married, and with his bride started on the honeymoon that had been delayed for eighteen years.

The couple went directly to New York. There Mr. Dunsmuir was stricken with sickness and forced to take to his bed in the Imperial Hotel, where he died on the 31st of last January. The body was embalmed and is now in this city, where it arrived last night, in the charge of his widow and brother.

When seen last night James Dunsmuir said that he did not care to discuss the romance of his dead brother's marriage, but the reason for keeping it secret was because it was known that it would not meet with the approval of his mother. He refused to either admit or deny that his father's will contained any provision providing for partial disinheritance in the case of such action on the part of his brother. Mr. Dunsmuir said that the deceased was 46 years of age at the time of his death, and that the body will be buried in Mountain View Cemetery, Oakland, as soon as preparations for the funeral can be made. When questioned concerning the value of the estate left by his brother Alexander, James Dunsmuir said that it was far over the million mark, but just how far he was not inclined to divulge at the present time. He further stated that this fortune will not go to the widow. If

such is the case the other relatives of the dead man will probably divide it among them.

Besides his brother James the deceased leaves three sisters, Lady Musgrave, wife of Sir Richard Musgrave, who formerly occupied a high government position in Victoria. Mrs. Lt. Col. Houghton, deputy adjutant general in control of one of the Canadian districts, and another, who is still unmarried.

The Dunsmuir property consists of the ownership of the greater part of Vancouver Island, of the railroad thereon, of the Nanaimo and Wellington Coal Mines, and of sailing and steam vessels without number, as well as of the immense holdings of city real estate in Victoria and most of the other Puget Sound cities.

The life story of this remarkable man, although it belongs correctly to the history of this family, is, as it were, "set apart" chiefly through the strong desire of James Dunsmuir and his family not to make it public, and also in part because most of his adult life was spent in San Francisco and not in British Columbia. However, he must have a chapter in this book because he occupied an important position as head of the San Francisco office of Dunsmuir & Sons, and on account of the fantastic story of his long romance with the mother of Edna Wallace Hopper which culminated in the gigantic law suit against the Dunsmuir Estate.

Born on July 16, 1853, he was, as we have mentioned, the first white baby in Nanaimo and just two years younger than his brother James. The mistaken idea that he was the elder brother is often made, probably because of his early promise and the useful service he gave to his father when James was away at the military academy.

Alec was more suited to office work and business than James, and therefore he managed the office and bookkeeping side of the coal business of Dunsmuir & Sons, while James was content to handle the practical end, the management of the mines.

The elder brother, however, believed the younger to be cleverer and shrewder in business matters than he, himself, was, and often deferred to his judgment when such affairs were involved. Alec,

on the other hand, had a high opinion of his brother's common sense and probity, and realized that in certain matters such as over-indulgence in strong drink, where he was weak, James was strong.

It is very sad to think that a man possessed of an excellent brain and a strong constitution should succumb at the early age of forty-six to alcohol, but such unfortunately was the case, and this obviously served as a lesson and a very strong deterrent to James throughout his life.

After the usual type of schooling at Nanaimo and Victoria, Alexander went to his father's office in Victoria, but in 1878 he was transferred to the San Francisco end as manager.

Alexander was not long in sampling the pleasures and gay life of the big city, and soon formed many friends among the rich and go-getting young men who were his contemporaries. One of the greatest of these was Fred Crocker, who afterwards stood by him during his drinking sprees in the Pacific Club and elsewhere.

However, shortly after his arrival he was introduced to Wallie Wallace, by day a law student in the office of W. H. L. Barnes and head usher at the Old California Theatre in the evening. Wallie had a beautiful wife named Josephine, and she obviously attracted the young man from Vancouver Island enormously. Very soon he was living with the Wallaces in their house in Eddy Street. The other inmate of the home was the young daughter Edna who was later to become internationally famous on the stage as Edna Wallace Hopper.

Such a ménage could not last long, and the Wallaces separated in 1879. Edna went to live for a time with her father, but later returned and lived with her mother and Dunsmuir in a house belonging to a private family on Jones Street.

Alexander lived the usual life of a businessman, going to his office each morning and returning to his home at night, but it was noteworthy that the times of his return were frequently in the early hours of the morning. The fleshpots of San Francisco were proving very alluring to Alexander Dunsmuir.

The irregular relations between her mother and her mother's "protector" naturally caused some speculation among Edna's schoolmates, and during this period she was constantly changing schools. She studied first in San Mateo, then Bernicia, then Oakland. Often Dunsmuir was reproached by the young girl for being the cause of this unpleasant gossip, and he would reply that she must have patience and everything would come right in the end.

Alexander was frightened of the consequences if his mother got to know of his entanglement with the fair Josephine, and he begged her to wait before making their status legal. Even when she became a widow the wedding was not broached by Dunsmuir who lived in dread of his mother's wrath.

Joan Dunsmuir, living in her castle in Victoria, where she retired after the death of her husband, heard rumours of the infatuation of her younger son for a widow in San Francisco, and referred to Josephine on more than one occasion as "that woman."

There gradually grew up a sort of division in the Dunsmuir family after Robert's death—the two sons James and Alexander on one side with James' now large family of young people, and Mrs. Joan Dunsmuir in Craigdarroch, with always at least one or two of her daughters residing with her, on the other.

But to continue with Alexander's story: From Jones Street (the young couple still maintaining this irregular relationship) they moved to Post Street where they lived for a time in a house of their own. Edna still made her home with the young couple.

It was during this time she noticed that Dunsmuir really began to become a more than heavy drinker, his return was even later in the small hours, his state one of greater intoxication, and at times he had to be brought back from the Pacific Club or some other haunt by Fred Crocker or another friend. He still made an attempt to get to his office every morning, although most week ends he preferred to stay in bed and drink. About the early part of 1886 Edna was sent to board at the Van Ness Academy.

Russel Wilson, of the firm of Wilson and Wilson, lawyers, besides being Josephine's man of law, was a friend to the young

couple, and at his instigation a doctor's advice was sought. So Dr. Marshall was called in. Beyond warning Alexander that he must curb his excessive drinking and minister to his hangovers, the good doctor could do little. He had a strong constitution, however, and as soon as he got over a spell he would be back at the office attending to the business of the firm in his capable fashion. His business associates reckoned him a hard and shrewd bargainer and well up in his line of business.

The family moved again, this time to Ellis Street, and now Alec's incessant drinking began to affect his work, and at times he would spend a whole week away from the office in bed at his home. He made a very strict point of never being drunk at the office.

After a year living at Ellis Street, Alexander decided that he needed a change and also that it would not do any harm for Josephine and her daughter to have one. They made a move to New York, where, after some weeks, Dunsmuir decided to leave the womenfolk and take a trip to Europe. This trip lasted about eight months but in 1890 they moved back to San Francisco, living for a period on Turk Street.

For a time it seemed that his trip abroad had done him good, and it might have been that the advice given him by some of the eminent physicians he visited in Europe had carried more weight than his doctors in San Francisco.

However, it was not long before his unfortunate craving returned and he was once again drinking to excess. Their home life became so difficult that Edna decided to leave and strike out on her own. She had a real talent for the stage and she began her career in New York in May, 1891.

Dunsmuir's life carried on in the ordinary way, while all the time he was growing richer and richer as a part of the immensely wealthy coal business owned by Dunsmuir and Sons.

After his father's death in 1889, the business progressed along the same lines. Alexander continued to manage the San Francisco office and James stepped into his father's place in Victoria on Vancouver Island, although the actual owner of the concern was

Robert's widow living in her castle at Craigdarroch. In the *San Francisco Directory* of 1890 the following listing appears:

Dunsmuir, R. and Sons (James and Alexander Dunsmuir) proptrs. Wellington Collieries, Office 620 East.
Dunsmuir, Alexander, residence Pacific Club.
Dunsmuir, James, residence Victoria, B.C.

Later in 1896 the business became corporated and Alexander was made Vice-President.

JAMES VISITS ALEXANDER

James paid frequent visits to San Francisco, often bringing his wife and his daughters with him during these business visits. Relations between the brothers progressed along extremely amicable lines, and despite the irregular relationship of Josephine and Alexander, young Mrs. James was on friendly terms with her brother-in-law's ladylove, who was always called by the name of "Mrs. Dunsmuir." Probably this fact gave cause to the mistaken idea that they had executed a secret marriage.

When Alexander paid visits to Victoria, he visited his mother, to whom he was a source of great anxiety. Although he seemed fond of his brother and his brother's family and often gave the young James Dunsmuir children expensive gifts, this affection did not extend to his sisters and even less to his brothers-in-law to whom he usually exhibited a studied rudeness. Mrs. Chaplin, who died in October, 1950, used to relate an incident in point: "I was walking along Government Street with my husband, Captain Chaplin, when we passed Alexander. I stopped him, and he mumbled a greeting, whereupon I introduced him to my husband; without saying a word Alexander turned on his heel and walked in the other direction."

This action would appear downright boorish, but it was a fact that Alexander had a wholesome fear of people getting his money,

and he no doubt classed all his sisters' husbands under such a heading.

In 1893 Alexander and Josephine took a trip to Cuba. They passed through New York and stayed to see Edna playing at the theatre. In 1895 the couple, tired of housekeeping, took up a suite of rooms at the Grand Hotel in San Francisco. Here Edna (who was now married to De Wolf Hopper) came to visit them. She was now an actress who had already made her mark. She noted that Alexander's health had undergone a decided reverse and said that instead of their romps and "ragging" in which they used to indulge in Post Street, he would now complain that he was not as strong as formerly.

However, this is in part refuted by his actions on his visits to Vancouver Island. Here he would seek to recapture the hunting prowess of more youthful days, and to do so would even refrain from drinking for short spells.

The incorporation of Dunsmuir & Sons had taken place in 1896, and the two brothers were seeking to bring all the vast enterprises associated with their father's name under their own personal control, and to give their mother cash in place of her share. This they did not finally succeed in doing till 1899; consequently Alexander had perforce to carry on with his clandestine affair. It seems that Josephine was perfectly content with things as they were, and trusted her husband-in-all-but-name implicitly, and also to a great extent his brother James. Edna, on the other hand, was of the opinion that her mother "was getting a poor deal"; although at no time did she imply that Alexander was other than an extremely indulgent "parent."

In 1897 Edna was playing in San Francisco in *El Capitan* with her husband, De Wolf Hopper. They stayed at the Grand and Mrs. Hopper noticed that even a small amount of drink seemed to affect Alexander. He seemed very weak physically, and he made sudden decisions, from which it was impossible for anyone else to dissuade him. One such decision was made during a drive with Edna, her mother and her theatrical manager, Mr. Stevens, and his wife, Mrs. Stevens. While they were driving in the park, Alexan-

der suddenly gave the order to "drive to Dicky's Saloon" (a notorious drinking place). The much embarrassed ladies declared that they could not enter such a place. However, Alec insisted, and finally "Snobs," as Edna used to call him, had his way and persuaded all the party to have a drink.

As his wealth grew he became still more generous and at times almost extravagantly so. In 1898, on a visit to New York where Edna was playing at the Casino, he took her out shopping, buying some very expensive underwear, also some handkerchiefs at $75.00 and $50.00 each. Later he went to Tiffany's where he chose a collarette for her priced at $22,000. He also bought many hats, choosing them himself, besides sending a quantity of presents to James Dunsmuir's children in British Columbia.

About this time Alexander acquired an elaborate estate named Souther Farm at San Leandro, and this he began to make into a luxury home for his ladylove. He had architects build stables, coach houses, cottages and greenhouses, taking a keen interest himself in all the plans and even designing some of them.

His last trip to Victoria was probably the last period of sobriety in his life. With Captain Bissett, captain of the *Thistle,* James Dunsmuir's yacht, also Dr. Thorne, Mr. Lowe and Mr. "Dib" Little, and a Mr. Way of Nanaimo, he went on a hunting and fishing trip lasting about a fortnight, during which he visited Duncan's Bay, Campbell River, Salmon River and Cowichan. The trip was remarkable for the reason that Alexander refrained from taking a single drink other than a very occasional bottle of beer.

Both Captain Bissett and Mr. Little were explicit in their accounts of his excellent shooting form and general air of well-being while on the voyage. On his return to Victoria he summoned Mr. C. E. Pooley and asked him to make his will for him. This document he showed in the Union Club to Mr. Bob Cassidy and Mr. Maurice Hills, both lawyers, and asked their opinion. They both stated that the will seemed perfectly watertight. It left everything to his brother James. Alexander had made an arrangement with his brother in which James would provide

Mrs. Josephine Wallace with a substantial monthly sum during her lifetime, and also when he was able to afford it without embarrassment to himself, to give each of his sisters $50,000 out of his (Alec's) share of the business.

This latter bequest, however, was more or less reviewed after the Dunsmuir brothers had bought out their mother for the sum of $410,000. Alexander seemed to think that their mother had asked too much, as she had already had at least $3,000,000 out of the business since the death of their father, although much of it had been given to her daughters.

However, it was finally decided that the long-postponed wedding should take place now that there was no longer the possibility of disinheritance by his mother. James and Mrs. James were invited down to San Leandro for the long-delayed ceremony. On December 21, 1899, Mrs. Josephine Wallace and Alexander were married.

James, as he had been instructed, brought Alec's will down with him from Victoria and handed it to his brother who signed it as required after the marriage ceremony had been performed.

The couple started on a long-delayed honeymoon to New York where they stayed at the Imperial Hotel. But Alexander's married state was not to last long. After seeing his step-daughter play in her current success, he was taken ill on January 11th and took to his bed from which he never rose. He died after a long period of coma on January 31, 1900.

Chapter 9

ROBERT DUNSMUIR'S LAST YEARS

POLITICS

Politically Robert Dunsmuir came upon the scene rather too late in life to make his name felt to the degree that it might have been had he lived another fifteen years, but he obviously had a bent for politics and was considerably more at home with others in that line of business than was his son James.

In 1882 he entered the Legislature for Nanaimo and was returned again in 1886 when he succeeded Hon. William Smithe as President of the Council. According to historian R. E. Gosnell, "a man of strong individuality and large interests, he made almost inevitably many bitter opponents, and the ascendancy of the coal baron in the Legislature and elsewhere in public affairs was the theme of numerous diatribes in the House, in the Press, and on the Hustings."

In the year 1888 Robert Dunsmuir was the object of an attack by a man named G. Hamilton Griffin who was either a lunatic or a villain. It seems more likely that he belonged to the latter category as he had fled California when under a $2500 bond on a charge of embezzlement, and had contacted Dunsmuir in regard to some coal leases over which he imagined Dunsmuir had done him wrong in the course of ensuing negotiation as to their disposal.

His whole attitude throughout the case and during the time he was held in custody, in lieu of bail, bordered on insanity.

Thus one is left with the belief that from the beginning the man was a lunatic.

The case stirred up considerable interest in Victoria and the surrounding territory as a detective was brought up from San Francisco to shadow the bogus Dr. Griffin. It was known as the "Black Hand Case" because the five letters, all threatening ones, which were sent to Robert Dunsmuir were signed with a Black Hand.

In the *Colonist* of November 14, 1888, we read:

> Dr. G. Hamilton Griffin charged with sending threats of killing to Robert Dunsmuir: The case in the Police Court. After being charged with sending threatening letters to Hon. Robert Dunsmuir Dr. Griffin addressed the Court:
>
> "I would like the case to go on at once. We are prepared to go on. Our character is suffering in the eyes of the public. There is not a man in the city for whom I have more respect than Mr. Dunsmuir. In my paper and every other way I have shown my high respect for him. We would like the case to proceed." When it was stated that bail would be very high the doctor remarked: "Then we will not ask for bail. We can stay in jail for one night. It will suit us very well."

The case was remanded until the following day and when recalled the accused said he "was glad the *Colonist* had not forgotten him." The *Colonist* was the best paper west of Montreal, he said.

During the case various witnesses were called, one of whom, a printer by the name of Cohen, stated that Mr. Griffin told him that he had "always had a grudge against Mr. Dunsmuir, in fact he was the worst enemy he had in the world."

Mr. Dunsmuir in his statement said he first saw Griffin on "the day on which the first locomotive was brought across the new railway bridge sometime in March." He stated that he had received five threatening letters through the mails—the first, signed with a "Black Hand," stated that he was to be killed, and was

marked "Exhibit A." As the letter was written in a mixture of Spanish and Greek, he sent for a Spanish dictionary. He stated that he also showed it to the Attorney General and Judge Crease.

A Mr. Maurice Lopabecki of the *Evening Standard* was called and said he had lived in Spain and South America. He held a degree as a Doctor of Philosophy. The letters translated read as follows:

3rd Aug., 1888

You have to die very soon. By order.

5th Aug., 1888

We will send you another mandate. Beware. We all know what you are doing—prepare for death.

He who acts unjustly must be brought before the judges to be punished.

10th Aug., 1888

On the 28th Sept. we are going to kill you. It makes no difference if you have detectives. They are fools and cannot do anything. Prepare yourself. The time comes near when you will be no more.

1st Sept., 1888

Remember the twenty-eighth of this month. We have not forgotten anything. The time comes and is approaching very rapidly. Remember while reading the above.

11th Oct., 1888

We have not forgotten anything. We have not fulfilled our decree because there are other circumstances, but the time will come.

We thought that you were a better man, but we see that you are as bad as ever. If you remember the past you ought to take care of the future.

Mr. Lopadecki said he'd also received an anonymous letter saying:

If you are going to help Mr. Dunsmuir, we are going to kill you. We know all. We know that there is a fool here from San Francisco. We are very strong and we have members in all parts of the world.

Benjamin J. Atherton, at one time acting as Mr. Griffin's private secretary, said he'd known Griffin for some time and had acted as bondsman for him in San Francisco on the occasion of his arrest for embezzlement.

He said Mr. Griffin had first sold smoke balls, then formed a champagne manufacturing company, and then conducted the Southern California Land Bureau. When he had jumped his bond, he had kept track of him and gone up to Vancouver Island to join him when he heard his coal interests might prove valuable.

At one time Griffin was proprietor and manager of a paper called the *Social World.*

Furthermore, Atherton said he heard Griffin say: "Mr. Dunsmuir was the s— of a b——, and that he had no use for Mr. Dunsmuir, niggers, Chinese or Jews."

Finally a certain Mr. Howard J. Branthaven, then living at the Occidental Hotel, gave evidence. He said he was employed by the Mahoney Detective Agency and had come from San Francisco to shadow Dr. Griffin. He'd received a letter as follows:

Victoria, 11th Oct., 1888

Mr. Sir Howard: You and Mr. Lopadecki are fools. We know more than you think of. Take care. It would be better for you to return to San Francisco.

The case dragged on for several days. At one session Griffin and his wife, who was in court, staged a dual fainting act to attract public sympathy, but from the many witnesses and handwriting experts it was evident that Griffin had written the letters. With what object, no one, least of all he himself, could say. Mr.

Justice Richards pronounced him guilty on November 18th and he was remanded for sentence.

However, Mr. Dunsmuir was by this time embroiled in the prosecution of a libel action in which he accused the *Times,* and William Templeman, its managing editor, of printing false and malicious articles in regard to himself. Mr. Theodore Davie acted for Robert Dunsmuir and he had as an associate Mr. Helmcken. Hett and Mills acted for the *Times.*

Mr. Davie said the main crux of the charge lay in the statement made by the *Times* that "Mr. Dunsmuir carried the Government in his breeches pocket," and used this fact to consummate his own ends.

Particularly also did they deny that the implication that Mr. Dunsmuir influenced the government to build roads to his mines rather than for public travel, and that he parted with land adjoining the E & N Railway to immigrants at three dollars an acre, and not to settlers at one dollar an acre as was stipulated.

These charges Mr. Davie hotly denied on behalf of his client Robert Dunsmuir and further asked for five thousand dollars and costs by way of compensation and heart balm.

The brilliance of his legal advisors and the obvious error of the statements in the *Times* won the case for Dunsmuir and he was given $500 and costs—but this legal tangle coupled with his anxiety which was only natural over the series of threatening letters must have contributed to his rather sudden and untimely end.

One of the last acts he attempted to undertake before his death in 1889 was an arrangement for the development of the Comox and Alexandra Collieries. These were later completely organized under the direction of his son James.

The following appeared in the *Colonist* of April 13, 1889, on the death of Robert Dunsmuir:

> It was known that for some days after the close of the session of the legislature that Hon. Mr. Dunsmuir was confined to his house by a severe cold, but none thought that

his pleasant face and familiar figure would be among us no more. A higher power has decreed otherwise. He was under the care of Dr. Hanington, who on Saturday last was confined to his house by serious illness. It was only on Wednesday, the 10th instant, that alarming symptoms developed. Mr. Dunsmuir was discovered just before noon lying in bed in a death-like state. Dr. J. D. Helmcken was hastily summoned and he found the patient in so serious a condition that he entertained fears of his speedy demise. Dr. J. S. Helmcken and Dr. Davie were also called in, and after applying remedies were successful in restoring him to consciousness. He improved constantly until yesterday afternoon, when a relapse took place, after which he steadily sank until 6:40 in the evening, when he passed peacefully away, surrounded by the members of his family then in the city. Mrs. Dunsmuir, Mrs. Snowden, and Miss Effie Dunsmuir were constantly with the deceased during the last days of his life. Mr. James Dunsmuir came down from Departure Bay by special train on Wednesday, and Mr. Alex Dunsmuir arrived from San Francisco on Thursday evening. By special train last evening arrived Mr. and Mrs. John Bryden, of Wellington, and Mr. and Mrs. James Harvey, of Nanaimo, who had been telegraphed for late in the afternoon. Mrs. Henry Croft, another daughter, is now crossing the Atlantic with her husband, accompanied by Miss Dunsmuir, while Miss Maud Dunsmuir is at school in England. Mrs. Col. Houghton is at present in Montreal.

The deceased was born in Hurlford, Ayrshire, Scotland, in 1825, his grandfather and father having been coal masters in that section. He was educated at Kilmarnock Academy. In 1847 he married Joanna, daughter of Mr. Alexander White, and came to Vancouver Island for the purpose of opening up the Fort Rupert coal lands for the Hudson's Bay Company. It was found that the coal measures there were too broken, and in 1854 he returned to Nanaimo to aid in developing the mines now held by the Vancouver Coal

Company. In 1864 the owners of the Harewood mine, Messrs. Wallace, Southgate, and others, placed him in charge of the work on that property. In 1869 he discovered croppings of coal at Departure Bay, and sunk a shaft but did not find the seam. He then began a tedious and wearisome search for the lost seam, and was at last rewarded by finding it beneath the roots of an upturned tree in the dense forest on the very spot where at present is situated No. 4 shaft of the Wellington collieries. This discovery was destined to revolutionize the coal trade of the province. The coal proved to be the best then or since found on the Pacific coast, and its fame soon spread. Admiral Farquhar, who then commanded on this station, with Capt. Egerton and Lieut. Diggle, took an interest in the mine, which became a paying investment almost from the start. In 1878 Mr. Dunsmuir purchased Admiral Farquhar's and Capt. Egerton's interest, and in 1881 he bought the Chandler mine at South Wellington. In 1883 he bought out the interest of his remaining partner, Lieut. Diggle, paying him for an original investment of a few thousands nearly three-quarters of a million dollars. The famous Wellington mines have since been owned by the deceased gentleman and his sons, Messrs. James and Alexander Dunsmuir. The continued success that has attended the operation of the mines since their discovery is due to the skilful management and foresight of the deceased.

The greatest enterprise undertaken by Mr. Dunsmuir was the construction of the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway. Before finally consenting to undertake the building of the work he had frequent interviews with the Marquis of Lorne, the then Governor-General of Canada, who was visiting British Columbia. His Excellency, with admirable foresight, selected Mr. Dunsmuir as the only man capable of undertaking so great a work, and by doing so he settled the differences then existing between the Province and the Dominion. The work was begun in 1884 and completed in 1886, and had the deceased lived, there is no doubt the line would have been

pushed northward to Comox at an early date and eventually to the northern end of the Island.

Last year he began the development of the Comox coal mines in connection with the Southern Pacific Railway Co., and this work had advanced so far that coal was ready for shipment.

The deceased was also owner of a fleet of steamers and sailing vessels, was the chief owner in the Albion Iron Works Co., a large shareholder in the C.P.N. Co., the chief shareholder in the Victoria Theatre, and was also largely interested in many other enterprises throughout the Province. He was president of the E. & N. Railway, the Albion Works Co. and the Victoria Theatre Co., and a director in several other companies.

Although the deceased always disclaimed the distinction of being a politician, as the word is generally understood, he has occupied a prominent place in public affairs since 1882, when he was elected senior member for Nanaimo district. He was again returned in 1886, and in August, 1887, he was gazetted President of the Council, a position he occupied up to the time of his death. He also took a warm interest in Dominion and civic politics, and numbered among his friends all the leading members of the Dominion Administration. He was a warm personal friend of Sir John Macdonald and Sir Charles Tupper, and in their visits to the Province they always evinced a lively interest in all his undertakings. They, and his hosts of friends, for he had scarcely an enemy in the world, will be pained to hear the intelligence of his death.

The physicians state that the cause of death was an accumulation of uric acid, which resulted in blood poisoning.

Chapter **10**

LIFE AT "BURLEITH"

VICTORIA

When in 1890 the James Dunsmuir family moved to Victoria, a new era commenced for its members.

From the coal town of Nanaimo where they had found fortune and where the youngsters had run about in irresponsible and carefree youth among their parents' life-long friends and kindly disposed neighbours, they now moved to the "Big City" where it behooved them to act in a circumspect manner and prove their new-found riches did not leave them wanting in the social graces and good manners.

"Fairview" was given over to James Dunsmuir and his rapidly growing family. The old pioneer lady who had seen her fortunes change in such a fairy-story manner moved her belongings to her turreted castle atop Craigdarroch Hill.

But "Fairview" was not big enough for James' family, and so he embarked on the building of yet another show mansion and commissioned a popular architect and a well-known contractor to start building a large and beautiful family home overlooking the waters of the Gorge.

The following is from an article written in 1948, by J. K. Nesbitt, in *Old Homes and Families:*

> "Burleith" was the home of Hon. and Mrs. James Dunsmuir and their ten children—two sons and eight daughters.

The great home stood in what is now Victoria West, stretching from Craigflower Road, just west of Sunnyside, down to the waters of the Gorge. Some years ago the house burned down, but the stone wall still remains along Craigflower. On what was once the Dunsmuir estate are now many new homes.

"Burleith" was built from 1891–92. James Dunsmuir's wealth was increasing, his family was growing. For years he looked after his father's vast coal interests in the Nanaimo area. In 1890 he moved his family to Victoria, first living in his mother's home, "Fairview."

James was a comparatively young man at the time "Burleith" was built, but he had had a varied education. After returning from the Virginia Military school, besides working in his father's mines, he had learned the trade of machinist, and had completed his education at the Williamette Iron Works in Portland. He had a thorough knowledge of the mines and had served several years as superintendent. When he came down from Nanaimo to take his father's place at the helm there was not much about the practical side of the business that he did not know. Now, however, besides being a mine owner, the part owner of a coaling fleet, and the director of a railway, he was required to enter politics; and as a man of immense standing in the community and tremendous wealth to play a part in the destiny of shaping the new world that was emerging in this portion of the Western Hemisphere.

James was a family man. He disliked politics, and he hated pomp and show. Being a modest man he found it hard to assume the platform manner. He was never so much at home as when he was romping with his children of an evening, or discussing a fishing trip with a crony, over a pipe of tobacco, or even doing some simple family chore around the house. However, he was no shirker, and he saw that he would be called upon to do much that was distasteful to him, and set about the job with a good grace. He was a wonderful husband and a fond father, and pos-

sibly he realized that whatever success he made, conditions would be so much the better for his children. At any rate, right up until the tragic loss of his younger son, he tackled whatever he had to do with a sense of duty and to the best of his ability. G. H. Gibbons wrote of him in the *Vancouver Daily Province* of April 20, 1901:

> A curiously interesting figure among Canadian public men is British Columbia's millionaire premier, Hon. James Dunsmuir, than whom it is safe to say there is no one in or out of politics more respected personally by opponents as well as friends—a quiet retiring man to whom the making of a speech is a something fraught with nameless terrors—a man accustomed to being misunderstood, who keeps himself very much to himself, yet is the direct antithesis of the cold and haughty personage that first impression is apt to misconceive him.
>
> He is an unusually silent man, it is true, but not of the taciturn, self-sufficient type finding empty satisfaction in cynical contemplation of the human family. On the contrary, Mr. Dunsmuir immensely enjoys the companionship of friends, even more perhaps than the majority. It is only his natural shyness (if such word may be allowed) that prevents his mingling more among them—not any disposition to hold himself haughtily aloof. He is a serious man—has always been—but not a misanthrope by any manner of means. Although he takes small part in general conversation where more than two or three are gathered together, a merry eye, twinkling through the lazy smoke of his faithful brier, bespeaks a genial appreciation of all that goes on about him.
>
> Those too who may attribute his characteristic silence to any lack of general knowledge or interest in man and men's affairs do him an injustice. Few among the best known public men of the West have indeed wider or more thorough and practical acquaintance with events. The case is simply that he hates to talk, save in such disjointed sentences as come conveniently between the whiffs of a well-seasoned

pipe. When necessity demands a speech it is short, direct, business-like, saving as many words and as much time as possible.

It may be that full realization of the responsibilities that his wealth entails has had a material influence in the moulding and developing of the premier's nature. It may be that such realization is but a natural sequence of his course in life. Certain it is that he is earnest and sincere in using his vast fortune as he believes for the best interest of his adopted home as well as for himself. It is with this object constantly in mind that he has so interested himself in mining in all parts of the province—that he has lent his name and his capital to many of the larger enterprises and interests of Vancouver Island—that he even entered politics and assumed the provincial leadership when a man of unimpeachable standing and integrity was demanded to redeem the wavering credit of the province in the eyes of the world.

Like that rugged old man, his father, in many respects, Hon. James Dunsmuir is a cordial hater of pretence, a detester of sycophants. He is Scotch in his dislike of premature familiarity. He is Scotch too in his humour, and in his appreciation of the humour of others. He is Scotch in his reverence of things sacred and his respect for clean living and honesty of word and deed. His faults as a man develop largely through self-depreciation of his own ability—for there are times when it would be better perhaps were he to take things political more into his own hands rather than defer to the views of his friends—and a family stubbornness in loyalty that induces him to stand by a friend whatever come, because it is a friend.

James Dunsmuir shares many of the characteristics of his late father. He is a man of simple life—of staunch integrity—of few habits, other than smoking, such as are classed among the petty vices. He does not drink because he sees no pleasure or advantage in undue stimulation of the system without necessity therefor; he does not use profanity because he

realizes that "gar dang it" properly emphasized, if not quite so euphonious perhaps, is just as expressive and useful in punctuating conversation as any stronger words could be.

As a listener he atones for any faults he may imagine himself to possess as a speaker (for when he can be drawn into conversation and made to forget himself he talks with animation and well) his grasp of the most involved details being quick and intelligent, his memory trained and reliable, and his eye peculiarly steady and capable of reading sincerity or deceit in the faces of those with whom he is brought in contact.

A trifle slow in action—for he moves with Scottish caution —his word once passed is to be absolutely relied upon in the spirit as in the letter of agreement.

As for his amusements, since men must have some relaxation else the machinery of the mind would come to grief, he is a generous patron and admirer of the drama, and an ardent lover of good music, in which he finds his chief delight.

Although in some respects as enthusiastic as a schoolboy in broaching certain projects for the public advancement, it is just a little difficult to imagine Premier Dunsmuir as having ever been a careless, sport-loving boy. The weight of heavy responsibilities, recognized and accepted as such, has rested upon him ever since he reached man's estate. He is apparently striving earnestly to employ both his fortune and his personal ability along lines in harmony with his native Scottish-Canadian common sense for the development and upbuilding of the province that is his home, and for the benefit of the greatest number of its inhabitants. He is respected for his irreproachable integrity and his high ideas, and it is for British Columbia's sake to be hoped that he will see these ideals realized in fact.

There was much stir in the town when Dunsmuir gave the order for "Burleith." The *Colonist* of September 4, 1891, noted:

The plans for the new residence show the building will be as commodious as it will be beautiful. The sight selected is a charming one, facing the Gorge. The building will be surrounded by nearly twenty acres of grounds, well wooded and capable of being made very attractive. The ground plan of the house provides for drawing-room, dining-room, breakfast-room, hall and vestibule, kitchen, pantries, servants' hall, with wide and spacious verandahs. The drawing and dining rooms are off the main hall and en suite. The first floor will be reached by a wide staircase and is taken up with bedrooms, day and night nurseries and bathrooms, while the attic will be devoted to observation tower and servants' apartments. The house throughout will be lighted up by electricity with electric bell, speaking tubes and every modern convenience.

In June of 1892, when "Burleith" was ready, the *Colonist* said:

Mr. James Dunsmuir and family have moved into their beautiful suburban residence, which stands so majestically among the trees on the green banks of the Gorge. The building is a substantial frame structure, neatly and well put together, designed by the popular architect, John Teague, and constructed by the well known contractor, Thomas Catterall. The inside of the residence would take a complete page to describe, being finished in antique oak, California redwood, and specially picked cedar, polished in the best manner. The spacious grounds are being skillfully laid out under the magic hand of Mr. Clair. Judging from appearances $50,000 must have been laid out in the building alone.

With the move to "Burleith" the Dunsmuirs became the leaders of society in Victoria. Their parties were always spurred to success by the wonderful aptitude for being the perfect hostess latent in Laura Dunsmuir and now coming to the fore—a heritage no doubt from her forebears in the Deep South. The daugh-

ters—as they returned from school in England and New York, from music teachers in Dresden and Leipzig and from a world about which the maidens of Vancouver Island had heard little but wondered much—lent their mother able support in the entertainment of the constant stream of guests that drove up to their doors and ate at their table. The spacious home overlooking the waters of the Gorge was a wonderful background for the James Dunsmuir daughters.

They were all good-looking and some might be acknowledged beauties. For ten years from the time "Burleith" was built till the marriage of the eldest daughter Byrdie in 1901, the parties, the dances, and the fancy dress balls held therein were the wonder of the whole of Vancouver Island.

It is obvious that some of the less fortunate citizens of Victoria who had marriageable daughters whom they could not afford to send to school in England, to shop in Paris, and to study music in Germany, were jealous of the good fortune of the Dunsmuir girls.

But the Dunsmuirs had friends as well as those who were envious of them, and there are a few in Victoria who can still look back on the '90's and remember the balls, the parties, and the picnics and perhaps heave a momentary sigh that such days of gaiety are so long gone by.

The Pooleys, the Lowens, the Barnards, the Littles and the Wassons—those that remain—all remember the Dunsmuirs and the vivid family that lived at "Burleith."

Harry Pooley (but recently passed away), Frank Ward, Brian Drake and several other local swains of that era had an eye on the Dunsmuir heiresses and must have felt temporary mortification when a suitor from England or Ireland captured one of these rich prizes in the marriage market.

Laura Lowen, later Pooley, was Byrdie's greatest friend and Eva Prior and Gertie Robertson (Mrs. Hermann Robertson) were also partners in every festivity that took place within the grounds of "Burleith." Another very close friend of Byrdie Audain was Maud Lampman, Judge Lampman's wife, now Marquise de

Rodil. Her son Tommy Lampman was probably the author's closest playmate among the boys that used to visit "Burleith" during the time the Audains lived therein.

Besides the parties in the great house—there were boating parties on the Gorge arm, parties for the races at Colwood—there were gay evenings spent in musical entertainments, for, besides Laura and James, every daughter and the elder son had a sincere appreciation of good music.

As each of the girls returned from Europe (her wardrobe trunks would be bulging with all the wonderful and stupendous new fashions from the dress houses of Paris and jewellers' shops of London and New York) special parties would be given for feminine guests at which the latest acquisitions were displayed and the talk was of clothes, of fashions, and maybe of men.

But the parties in the big house that belonged to the Dunsmuirs were conducted in strict accordance with the customs of the day. There were chaperones and though the ladies may have taken a glass of wine or fruit cup, they never indulged in anything stronger. The men, when they wanted to drink, went to the saloons in the town, the bootlegging establishments, and the clubs, and maybe even a bagnio or two, but as for drinking in the presence of women of their own class—such a thing was unheard of. The advent of the cocktail habit during the first war and the irresponsible way of life engendered during the 1920's were the causes of drinking in mixed gatherings and growth of alcoholism among women.

Byrdie Audain, as the eldest Dunsmuir daughter, had considerable admirers. She was very good-looking but not so vivacious as her younger sister Bessie, who could almost be described as a butterfly "as she flitted from flower to flower." In her young days Byrdie did considerable bicycling on the huge unwieldy machine of those days and more than once she has attributed her later ill-health to the strain of the long rides upon which she used to embark in her youthful, carefree and high-spirited journeys to some far distant picnicking ground or some race meet or treasure hunt.

The elder children were popular wherever they went and the younger set in which they moved acknowledged them as leaders. Harry Pooley, Dr. Hermann Robertson, Brian Drake, were some of the younger men moving in the Dunsmuir set at that time; Laura and Gertie Lowen, Miss Vernon and Miss Rithet, a cross section of the fairer sex. J. K. Nesbitt writes in the *Colonist:*

> At the turn of the century, in a society-conscious Victoria, an invitation to dinner or a fancy dress ball or a wedding at "Burleith" was as eagerly sought and as highly prized as a bid to Government House. There were so many Dunsmuir mansions in early day Victoria that they formed an integral part of the life of the place. Victoria was small in those days and the Dunsmuirs were known to everyone. Only a favoured few could be invited to "Burleith" but everyone else enjoyed the parties and the weddings through the newspapers, which eagerly followed events there and did a first class job of depicting their glamour and brilliance.

At first, when the family moved into "Burleith," the elder children were still of school age and Byrdie was away at Eastbourne in England and later in Dresden and Leipzig to study music. Robin, the eldest son, was sent to an English public school, Malvern, and spent some of his holidays at the home of Lord Walsingham. Bessie, the second daughter, also went to England, while Maye was sent to school in New York. However, as each returned full of the wonders they had seen and dressed in the height of fashion prevalent of the times in London, Paris and New York, it was with some envy that the less fortunate members of Victoria's younger set viewed the comings and goings of the "Dunsmuir Kids" and it is probable that later when tragedy followed misfortune for the various members of this notorious family, there were some who thought they had only got their just deserts.

Even more sumptuous living quarters than "Fairview" were on hand for the "Grand Old Lady of the coal mines":

Writing in *Old Homes and Families,* J. K. Nesbitt says in the *Colonist of* April 25, 1948:

> The Pacific Coast today has left but two "Bonanza King" mansions and one of them is in Victoria, Craigdarroch Castle, built by Robert Dunsmuir. The other is the Pacific Union Club in San Francisco—once the home of James Flood.
>
> Both went up in the eighties. Robert Dunsmuir in those days ranked in wealth with Flood, Mark Hopkins, James Fair and Charles Crocker, the "Bonanza Kings" of California, who erected their famous mansions atop Nob Hill. Only the Flood home remained after the great earthquake and fire of 1906. These men tried to outdo each other in the magnificence of their mansions, and perhaps Dunsmuir outdid them all, for his castle was more fabulous than any of the Nob Hill palaces in San Francisco.
>
> Exact cost of Craigdarroch has never been known, but certainly it must have been well over $500,000. Dunsmuir brought an architect from San Francisco to design it. Apparently he gave no instructions—put no limit on the cost—merely told the architect it must look like a castle in Scotland. It stood in a vast estate of woods and formal terraced gardens—and a double driveway curved to Fort Street, where the entrance to Joan Crescent and Craigdarroch Road is today. There were massive stone and iron gates. Part of the stone wall with iron palings remains.

As Robert had promised his bride on that faraway day in the past when they had stood on the deck of the *Pekin* and looked at the wild inhospitable shoreline they were approaching, the castle of dreams became a real castle of marble and stone, precious woods and stained glass. And as he had said, there was a butler, and there were carriages and diamonds and champagne—and knights and their ladies dined and danced in the castle rooms and two of the Dunsmuir daughters married into the British nobility.

SOCIAL SIDE OF THE PICTURE

From the time that Robert's family moved down from Nanaimo to Victoria and went to live at "Fairview" (a stately wooden mansion with lovely bay windows, it still stands, a rooming house with clotheslines from every window, on the southwest corner of Quebec and Menzies streets) the daughters were leaving the parental roof for life on their own as married women, each departure being the occasion for a sumptuous and more magnificent wedding.

The last daughter to marry in Nanaimo had been Marian, who wedded Lieutenant Colonel C. F. Houghton at St. Andrews Presbyterian Church and afterwards left on the *Maude* for Victoria, the boat being specially chartered for the occasion.

The next two weddings took place in Victoria, from "Fairview." First Mary Jean married Henry Croft and went to live at "Mount Adelaide" overlooking Victoria and the Straits. The affair was very gay.

A fancy dress ball was held in December, 1885, at "Fairview" with all the "first families" present. Costumes described: Colonel E. G. Prior appeared as a pirate king, Mrs. Bullen as Marie Antoinette, Mrs. Prior as a fish-wife, Miss Helmcken as Queen of Hearts, Mr. Irving as a French cook, Sir Anthony Musgrave as a fox-hunter and Jessie and Maud as Italian peasant girls. After the ball, Sir Michael Culme Seymour arrived with Captain Ross, both in full naval uniform.

In 1886 Emily married Mr. Snowden at an equally gay affair. The reception was held at "Fairview."

Such was the social life at "Fairview." It will be seen that the coal from the Wellington Mines is now being made to pay for entertainment and social functions and the family of the "Poor Miner from Scotland" was keeping pace with the best in this new land.

Although Robert Dunsmuir died before he could himself live in the castle he certainly kept his promise to his bride. The castle

had four stories. Above is the tower lookout, a round chamber; its floor of tiles are set with mosaics. It is like the tower from a fairy story and one might well imagine the blushing daughter of a duke of old, climbing the grand staircase at dusk and awaiting in the tower the first glimpse of her prince, riding to her across the countryside.

Today the castle is the headquarters of the Victoria School Board. In the faint scent of an age that is dead, in one of this continent's few castles, surrounded by gleaming hardwood and bevelled-edged mirrors and all the other elegances that will never come again, the school board carries on its work-a-day job. Trustees on their way to the board room note the massive hall fireplace, with its scrolled motto: "Welcome ever smiles and farewell goes out sighing." The secretary has his office in the former library, with it's parquet-inlaid floor and fireplace with the Bacon quotation "Reading maketh a full man" carved into the mahogany. In the double drawing-rooms stenographers work and may look out through the huge plate glass windows that touch the floor, to the sea and mountains. The board room, with its mirrors and carved buffets, was once the dining-room. No school board in all North America can have so glamourous, so romantic a setting.

Though Joan Dunsmuir lived quietly in her widowhood at the castle, her daughters entertained their friends there and on his infrequent visits her son Alexander stayed there when up from California. The old lady in Craigdarroch managed to make at least two really brilliant marriages for her daughters.

In 1901 there was the elaborate wedding of the sixth daughter, Jessie Sophia to Sir Richard John Musgrave Bart of Waterford, Ireland. The ceremony was at Christ Church Cathedral and the *Colonist* reported:

> The wedding was the most fashionable and brilliant in Victoria. The body of the Cathedral was filled with invited guests while hundreds of ladies and dozens of gentlemen not so highly honoured crowded the side seats, the aisles, the churchyard and the streets. Those fortunate in securing out-

side standing room were forced to content themselves with one short look at the bride as she entered the church on the arm of her husband, while the bells peeled forth their tumult of silvery music and Mendelssohn's "Wedding March" echoed from the rafters of the Cathedral. The bride—the observed of all observers—bore herself well, seeming not to feel the rigid scrutiny to which she was being subjected.

Her costume was of particular elegance and became her well. The dress was of white and silver brocade, with full court train, brocaded in silver in the pattern of the Prince of Wales' crest, veil and trimmings of Honiton lace. The bridal bouquet was of white roses, and for ornaments a diamond pin and pearl crescent, the latter the gift of the groom.

Miss Effie Dunsmuir, Miss Musgrave, Miss Maud Dunsmuir, Miss Lizzie Harvey, Miss Byrdie Dunsmuir, and Miss F. Ward were the bridesmaids, their costumes being white Charlotte Corday, with long sashes and flowers to match. Little Bessie and Maye Dunsmuir acted as train bearers, being followed by the Misses Olive Bryden and E. Dunsmuir, bearing caskets of flowers. Twenty young lady friends and companions of the bride acted as her maids of honour, attired all in simple white.

After the church service three hundred guests were received at the Castle and later in the day Sir Richard and his bride left for the ancestral home of the Musgraves in Ireland.

Mrs. Dunsmuir lived to see James serve as Premier and Lieutenant Governor. No other woman in the Province's history ever saw her son attain the two highest offices in the Province. When he lived at Government House, from 1906 to 1908, Mrs. Dunsmuir in her old age often walked through the terraced gardens of her estate and crossed Rockland Avenue to call upon him.

However, despite the possible wishes of the family, this purports to be a true story of the Dunsmuir family chronicling both good and ill, glory and shame, honour and disgrace, so it would

not be fitting to close the life of this remarkable old lady without telling of the feud that grew and blossomed in the family during the later years of her life.

We read in the story of Alexander Dunsmuir that he and his brother James did their best to hide from their mother considerable of the goings on in San Francisco, fearing that the strait-laced old lady would disinherit Alexander from his share of the Dunsmuir fortune. After a long delay when James and Alexander had managed to make a bargain with their mother whereby she accepted a large sum in cash (some $410,000) for her controlling share of Robert Dunsmuir and Sons, it was easier for Alexander to live his own life. Finally just before he died, he made an "honest woman" of the lady who had so long been to him wife in all but law.

It is sad to think that the final years in Joan Dunsmuir's long and hard life were not all given up to splendid spectacles and rejoicing like the wedding just previously described, but a lot of her time was sadly spent in recriminations against both her sons, whom she fancied were trying to wrest her business from her.

It is thought that Joan Dunsmuir's share with that of her daughters had been, even previous to the final share out of $410,000, at least three million dollars. But until her dying day the old lady thought she and her daughters had been badly treated by her two sons and more particularly by James who outlived his brother and came in for the larger share of Alexander's estate. Thus the latter years of Joan Dunsmuir's life centre round a gigantic and long-drawn-out law suit in which she and her elder daughters joined forces with Alexander's step-daughter, the actress Edna Wallace Hopper, to wrest from James what to her seemed the ill-gotten spoils from Alexander's share in the estate.

The feud which later started between the James Dunsmuirs at "Burleith" and the old lady Joan Dunsmuir and her elder daughters in Craigdarroch did not really commence till after Alexander's death in 1900, although the two brothers were very

close and considered that their mother had driven some very hard bargains in asking such tremendous sums for her share of the business when, after their father had died, it had been carried on by their united efforts in Victoria and San Francisco, and those without any settled salary.

The whispers of Alexander's private domestic life had by now reached the ears of all in Victoria, but by common consent it was discussed as little as possible in the castle on top of the hill.

True, when Alexander did put in an appearance in Victoria, he usually stayed in a suite of rooms at the Driard Hotel or the Union Club, but once or twice he made his mother's house at Craigdarroch his headquarters. However, on these occasions, the rows between his mother and himself had been so severe that he had indulged in a prolonged "bender" to get over them.

The old lady was no fool and well knew that Alexander had a ladylove hidden away in San Francisco—one whom she always referred to as "that woman," but curiously enough whose daughter she was later to join in a fight to obtain for herself and her daughters Alexander's estate.

When Alexander last visited Victoria he had gone for a trip on his brother's yacht, the *Thistle,* and spent a ten-day cruise fishing and shooting with Captain Bissett and Dr. Thorne for company. Strangely enough during the whole trip he had had nothing to drink other than one bottle of beer.

In 1896 the firm of Dunsmuir & Sons had become incorporated, but it was not until 1899 that the whole of the business passed from the mother to the control of the sons in exchange for a large sum. Throughout the '90's Alexander had expressed a lively interest in his brother's family and seldom came to Victoria without bringing some wonderful presents to the James Dunsmuir children. It was hard, therefore, for his brother to see his only brother and business partner drinking himself to death gradually before his eyes. James was a quiet man, however, and did not like to interfere too strongly, for Alexander had a dictatorial nature and when sober was highly capable.

During the course of the evidence in the lawsuit Dunsmuir vs.

Hopper and Dunsmuir, the full story of Alexander's last forty days of life came up before the court.

It seems that the marriage took place at the home of a Mr. and Mrs. Agnew about seven miles from San Leandro. James Dunsmuir, his wife and several other friends were present. Alexander was perfectly sober, a fact that the minister who performed the marriage took care to reassure himself on, as he'd heard some word as to the gentleman's periodic drinking.

Immediately after the ceremony the signing of the will took place and all present asserted very strongly that there was no coercion of any sort. Alexander was ready and anxious to get the business transacted.

The married couple then started by train for New York and on the evidence given by a railway porter who accompanied them all the way to Chicago, Alexander commenced drinking as soon as the train got under way and remained in his bed throughout the trip. He arrived in New York on December 26th in a very bad condition and went straight to the Imperial Hotel. A doctor was summoned and he prescribed for him sufficiently to put him on his feet for a few days, during which he and his wife went out with Edna. However, on January 11th he became seriously ill and went into a coma. From this date until he died on January 31st, he had few lucid periods and he woke only to drink again. The doctor probably feared for his reason if the drink were withheld. The diagnosis was put forward that Alexander succumbed from alcoholic dementia and meningitis.

Tragedy undoubtedly dogged the footsteps of Alec Dunsmuir and his "Dresden shepherdess." She had nursed him faithfully for nearly twenty years and had only been made an "honest woman" for forty days. But whatever the world could say of Josephine Wallace Dunsmuir, in the sight of Heaven she was a faithful and devoted mate to the weak mortal who would have been a wonderful success in all he accomplished, but for the curse of alcoholism.

GAIETIES AT "BURLEITH"

It was not only at Craigdarroch that the Dunsmuir family were astonishing the Victorians with the brilliance of their weddings—for probably an even more magnificent one was held at the home of the James Dunsmuirs, overlooking the waters of the Gorge, on October 30, 1901, and it was the talk of the town. James K. Nesbitt writes:

> It had the Dunsmuir household nearly frantic too—for the bridal trousseau failed to arrive. One may well imagine the anxiety and the consternation when a week before the great day there was still no bridal outfit.
>
> It is said the bride and her mother waited until four days before the wedding and then commissioned a corps of dressmakers to work day and night.

The *Times* account of the wedding, October 30, 1901, follows:

> Probably the most notable social event of the year took place at St. Saviours Church yesterday, the occasion being the marriage of Captain Guy Mortimer Audain and Miss Byrdie Dunsmuir. Ever since the engagement of one of Victoria's fair daughters to the gallant Captain of His Majesty's Indian services was announced, the devotees of society here have looked forward to the ceremony with great interest and expectation.
>
> The elaborate arrangements that were being made, the popularity of the prospective bridegroom and bride, and their social status, amply justified the belief that the event would be brilliant indeed. The invited guests comprised the elite of Victoria's society, and when the time of the ceremony arrived every sentiment akin to indifference—if any existed—was surrendered to expectation and interest.

Robert Cassidy, K. C. was the best man and ushers were Lieut. Bromley, H. Pooley, G. Johnston and D. Rogers. The bride was attended by her six sisters, Bessie, Maye, Elinor, Marion, Muriel and Kathleen.

The party moved down the aisle, a triumphal procession indeed; the bride leaning on the arm of her soldierly consort, while the music rolled upward in grandeur as if it understood the meaning of that which had taken place and consciously entered into the spirit of so joyous an occasion.

Unfortunately the costume designed for the bride did not arrive in time, having been lost or stolen en route from London. However, she wore a pretty gown of rich ivory-white satin with a court train of brocade, the corsage, draped effectively with twine-colored lace, being caught up in front of the skirt with sprays of orange blossom. The court train, draped from the shoulders, was of ivory satin, brocaded with an elegant design of true lovers' knots.

The organ during the service was presided over by Dr. Hermann Robertson, whose masterly interpretation of the grandest musical productions greatly enhanced the splendour of the service. At "Burleith," where the reception took place, the billiard-room was the centre of attraction. Here, indeed, was wealth and beauty in the shape of innumerable magnificent gifts from the four corners of the earth, mute but eloquent commentaries on the popularity of the bridegroom and bride.

After the wedding was over the young couple set off on a honeymoon that was to take them half across the world—Honolulu, Japan, Hong Kong, Singapore and finally to England to meet the relatives of the bridegroom who had come to welcome the new bride from their home in County Antrim across the Irish Sea. And it was in England some twenty months later that the author of this story was born, and before he returned to his home by the waters of the Gorge, he was to see, as an infant, two years of India as it then was under the sway of the British Raj.

The second brilliant wedding held at "Burleith" was to be shortly before the James Dunsmuirs departed to take up residence at Government House.

This was in June of 1904, when Lieutenant Arthur Bromley, of H.M.S. *Good Hope* (now Admiral Sir Arthur Bromley, K.C.M.G., and officer of Her Majesty's Household), and Laura Maye, the third Dunsmuir daughter, were married. The bridesmaids were Miss Vernon, Miss Dunsmuir, Misses Muriel and Kathleen Dunsmuir and Miss Rithet. The *Colonist* said:

> The bride was most becomingly attired in a lovely gown of chiffon cloth, embroidered in opals and embellished with the beauty of old lace. Her ornaments were diamonds. The bride went through the ceremony with perfect self possession.
>
> The mingling of the striking uniforms of the naval and military officers with the gay costumes of the ladies made a picture not readily forgotten. The grounds of "Burleith" presented a scene like fairyland, with coloured electric lights and Japanese lanterns, strung everywhere across the paths and drives through the woodland portions of the estate.

Chapter **11**

THE WILL CASE

This acrimonious and long-drawn-out battle for the estate of Alexander Dunsmuir dragged out for many long years and was not finally dropped until ultimately dismissed by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in August, 1906.

Alexander had died in New York only a short forty days after his wedding at San Leandro. It was immediately after this wedding at which both Mrs. James Dunsmuir and her husband were present that Alec had asked James to hand him the final copy of his will which he had asked James to bring down from Victoria for his signature.

In this will he left James Dunsmuir as sole devisee, but had an understanding with his brother that the latter would provide liberally for his widow should anything happen to him.

He argued that he and James had made the money together by dint of hard work. They had paid their mother on several occasions large sums totalling nearly $3,000,000 for her share of the family enterprises—two transactions had been the San Francisco end of the business for which Joan Dunsmuir had been paid $376,221 in 1898 and a sum of $687,854 for her interests in the E & N Railway in the same year; while for the Victoria interests in Dunsmuir and Sons, two colliers and two tugboats, she had received $410,000 in 1899. He also argued that his sisters could go on living on his mother's bounty and there was no reason why their husbands should spend his money while his own brother and his large family did not enjoy their rightful share.

During the life of Mrs. Josephine Dunsmuir, although she only survived Alexander by a short time, she always declined to challenge the will in any way, explaining that her husband would not like it known that she had lived all the years with him till December, 1900, as an unwedded wife, and that her brother-in-law James, in whom she had the greatest confidence, would provide for her amply. This he did allowing her $25,000 per annum, while of course Souther Farm at San Leandro was her own property.

However, on her death in June, 1901, her daughter Edna Wallace Hopper and Alexander's step-daughter sought to claim the estate of her step-father for herself.

From 1901 until 1906 the case was fought tooth and nail in the courts of British Columbia and California, although a decision in 1904 was given by Justice Drake on February 6th: "James Dunsmuir wins suit with costs against plaintiff and intervener." The intervener in the case was none other than James' mother, Joan Dunsmuir, on her own behalf and that of her daughters.

It seems highly ironical that the old lady in Craigdarroch who had made her one stipulation that should Alexander predecease her (when she made over her share of the business in 1898), his share was to revert to her and her daughters "because Alexander was living with a woman in San Francisco to whom she entertained a great repugnance," should join the daughter of this very same woman in a fight for her share of the estate.

Mrs. Joan Dunsmuir employed Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper K.C. on her behalf but even the efforts of this famous legal expert coupled with those of Mr. E. V. Bodwell for the plaintiff failed to shake the decision of Hon. Justice Drake, who was supported by Mr. Justice Irving and Mr. Justice Martin in his judgments.

The facts of the case in main were these. Several years before he died Robert Dunsmuir left his whole estate to Joan, but shortly previous to his demise this was changed and his estate was divided between his two sons. However, this latter will never came to execution and besides the ample provision (nearly

$3,000,000 left to the widow and her daughters) Joan, at the time of her husband's death, still had a controlling interest in the family business both in British Columbia and San Francisco.

Alexander, always a good businessman, was afterwards of the opinion that his mother had exacted a hard bargain when buying out her own interests from her two sons.

During the course of this tremendous law suit which must have cost many hundreds of thousands of dollars in the five years it waxed hot and then cold and hot again—more than eighty witnesses of all sorts were brought up from San Francisco including many of whom the most that could be said about them was that their evidence was practically valueless.

This collection consisted of waiters, bellhops, barmen, railway conductors, the early version of the "call-girl" and many other motley and unsavoury characters. Also included were many medical men, alienists, psychiatrists, and brain specialists.

Lyrics and poems were made up, and an array of gaping onlookers watched the parade from the moment they entered the courtroom till they had finished giving their evidence.

The fact that a mother was against her own son in open court lent no little spice to the curiosity of the "gapers," but Joan, who had braved the Indians at Fort Rupert and Nanaimo, did not let a few idle sightseers from Victoria change her in the very least from her set purpose.

The claims of Edna were quickly dismissed when it was pointed out that the tables of consanguinity did not permit the recognition of a step-daughter as a blood relation. But when Joan Dunsmuir set up the case on her behalf and together with Edna sought to prove that her other son was incapable of signing a will because of insanity, many and various were the arguments brought up for and against the sanity of Alexander Dunsmuir.

It was recognised that many of the witnesses supplied by the plaintiff were people whose word could not be relied upon and who were liable to do anything for a gift of money. It was also argued that they had only seen Alexander during his drinking bouts and were completely refuted by his office manager, his

clerks, and office staff who had never seen him drunk during working hours.

Eminent doctors were placed on the stand and argued about meningitis, alcoholic dementia, and several other complicated diseases about which little or nothing was known at the turn of the century. Gardeners and sanitary engineers from San Leandro gave evidence that Alexander was shrewd and clear in the directions he gave for his gardens and the way he wished his house to be planned; businessmen gave evidence of his capable handling of the company affairs and the dictatorial manner in which he chartered his ships. On the whole it gave the judge and his assistants a picture of a man who was a periodic alcoholic with a very strong power of recovery, and who, during his sober times, was capable of driving a shrewd and businesslike bargain.

From further evidence, that of a Mr. Taylor and others close to him during his everyday life, one was given the impression that he had a very genuine fondness for his brother James, trusted him implicitly, and had a horror that his money would be spent by someone outside his own immediate family—but his nephew and nieces, the James Dunsmuir family, he considered were entitled to their share.

It might be, too, that his mother's active dislike for Josephine (which was shared by some of his sisters) and the kindness and interest Mr. and Mrs. James had displayed towards that lady in her rather embarrassing position, did much to weigh the scales in favour of his brother and his family.

The judge, in his summing up, said that Alexander Dunsmuir appeared by all the evidence to have "a good business capacity, an obstinate and dictatorial nature less likely than the average to be influenced by others."

Concerning the question of domicile he said: "No businessman who had permanently changed his domicile would be likely to dispose of large interests by a document prepared in a foreign country when he could resort to his local attorney." Therefore, there seemed to be good grounds to suppose that he had kept his domicile of origin.

The case of Dunsmuir versus Hopper and Dunsmuir excited immense interest through the length and breadth of the Pacific Coast, partly on account of the immense sums involved and partly for the lurid and colourful nature of both the evidence and the witnesses. Also, the Dunsmuir family in British Columbia and Edna Wallace Hopper throughout the whole United States were names known in every household and to every man in the street.

By the time it ended, however, and the appeal had collapsed, the Dunsmuir name had been bandied on every tongue, dirty linen had been washed in public, and a lot of the good, solid, honest reputation earned by that pioneer family had considerably suffered.

Unfortunately, James Dunsmuir's eldest son was turning out to be a disappointment. He bid fare to rival Alexander in his fondness for strong drink.

The family feud engendered by this acrimonious law suit lasted a long time and from the writer's knowledge of this family and his resolution to tell the entire truth before this work was commenced, he has to say with honesty that this feuding among themselves has been the curse of this great family and unfortunately they have harmed themselves more in the eyes of the world than could have been believed possible because in so many cases they failed to stand "as a house united."

The following appeared in the *San Francisco Call,* on February 15, 1900, on the death of Alexander Dunsmuir:

> Oakland: After a ceremony at the Church of the Advent in East Oakland, the body of Alexander Dunsmuir was laid into the grave. Mr. Dunsmuir was buried at Mountain View Cemetery in Oakland. Mr. and Mrs. James Dunsmuir, the former the brother of the deceased, R. W. Dunsmuir and Miss B. Dunsmuir, nephew and niece respectively of the dead man, attended.
>
> Amongst his pallbearers were many ship captains of the coal ships, besides representative businessmen of different parts of the coast.

Amongst those sending flowers were Edna Wallace, the actress, who is a daughter of the widow.

His country home at San Leandro, California, is valued at $300,000 and in addition there is an estimate of $7,000 in personal property values.

The following appeared in the *San Francisco Call,* on April 28, 1900, on the will of Alexander Dunsmuir:

An authenticated copy of the will of the late Alexander Dunsmuir, stepfather of Edna Wallace Hopper, the well known actress, was filed for probate yesterday. Dunsmuir died January 31 last, leaving an estate valued at nearly $1,000,000. Shortly after his death it was made known that he left a surviving wife in the person of Mrs. Josephine Wallace Dunsmuir, whom he had secretly married. Although their relationship was long suspected, their marriage was withheld until Mrs. Dunsmuir concluded, after her husband's death, it would be advisable to make it public.

In the will filed yesterday, James Dunsmuir, decedent's brother, who resides in Victoria, British Columbia, is named as sole devisee of the estate, but in the accompanying petition asking for the admission of the testament to probate, Mrs. Wallace Dunsmuir is named as an heir-in-law.

It is understood that the will, which is witnessed by James Lowe of Sausalito and James P. Taylor of Oakland, named James Dunsmuir as sole devisee with Mrs. Wallace Dunsmuir's consent, her husband having transferred to her large real estate holdings and valuable accounts some time prior to his death.

Mrs. Wallace Dunsmuir resides at her country villa near San Leandro.

In the petition for the probate of the Will it is stated that decedent's Estate is valued at $790,000; the property in Victoria being valued at $645,000, and interests in this City being worth $154,000. The heirs at law are decedent's widow,

his mother, Joan O. Dunsmuir, and a brother, whom he names as sole devisee.

Alexander's widow was not to survive him for very long. Suffering from a lingering malady, she died on June 23, 1901, just a year and a few months after the man to whom she had been a wife in all but name for eighteen long years. The few short days of their married life seemed a small reward for the years Josephine had stood by and nursed the man she loved.

The following appeared in the *San Francisco Call* of June 23, 1901, on the death of Mrs. Alexander Dunsmuir:

> Mrs. Josephine Wallace Dunsmuir, widow of Alexander Dunsmuir, and mother of Edna Wallace Hopper, the actress, passed away this afternoon at 1 o'clock, after an illness of two weeks from typhoid fever. Death occurred at Mrs. Dunsmuir's beautiful country estate, formerly the Souther Farm, near San Leandro.
>
> Mrs. Dunsmuir had been critically ill for a week. When the serious sickness took a sudden turn, her daughter, who was playing an engagement in New York, was summoned by telegraph, and is expected to arrive here Monday. The attendants at Mrs. Dunsmuir's home had made a strong effort to keep the news of Mrs. Dunsmuir's death quiet in order that the daughter might not receive too great a shock from the sudden intelligence, which would reach her through the newspapers.
>
> Dr. W. S. Thorne, who was Mrs. Dunsmuir's physician for many years, was called to the San Leandro home when Mrs. Dunsmuir was first taken sick. A corps of trained nurses was also summoned and for days there had been hard fights to save the life of the patient but in vain. During the last week Mrs. Dunsmuir had failed rapidly.
>
> Mrs. Dunsmuir went East some time ago to visit her daughter. She returned two and a half months ago and had

been in ill health ever since. Mrs. Dunsmuir resided at the Souther Farm for several years. The place had been purchased during the lifetime of Alexander Dunsmuir. The Farm, noted for its natural attractions, was rendered doubly beautiful by the expenditure of a fortune in improvements.

A palatial residence was erected for Mrs. Dunsmuir and her daughter, and all the luxuries that money could lavish upon the grounds were installed for their comfort and pleasure.

The secret of Mrs. Dunsmuir's wifehood was kept until the coal baron's death in New York some years ago. Then it developed that he left a widow who was the mother of dainty Edna Wallace Hopper.

Mrs. Dunsmuir's first husband was Waller Wallace, who was head usher at the Old California Theatre, when John McCullough and Lawrence Barrett starred there. Wallace and his dainty Dresden-like beauty did not agree. After their divorce Mrs. Wallace took charge of her daughter, Edna. For a time mother and daughter resided in Oakland, California. Dunsmuir met and wedded the mother, and he provided most liberally for her as well as for the daughter, who was given all the advantages of education.

Two extracts from the *San Francisco Call*, of 1906, show that Joan Dunsmuir lost the case finally on a dismissal by the Privy Council.

When she died in 1908, in her eighty-second year, the *Colonist* recalled her early days in Nanaimo when she was indeed a pioneer, and editorially commented:

She was a welcome visitor in every home where there was need of a clear brain, willing hands and a heart full of sympathy. Wealth did not come early to her husband and she knew what it meant to toil early and late for the children who were born to her. Hers was no rose strewn path, but as

she trod it she was always sustained by the consciousness that she was doing her best under the circumstances in which Providence had placed her and that best was well done.

Of Mrs. Dunsmuir, Historian R. E. Gosnell has said:

> She was a woman of strong character and vigorous mind, a wide reader, keenly interested in politics and in public events.

After Mrs. Dunsmuir died there was no one in the West with enough money to live in her castle. It was vacant some years, then the property was subdivided and the castle raffled for a dollar. The man who won it couldn't afford to live in it; no one would buy it, so the city soon had it for unpaid taxes. In the 1914–18 war it became a soldiers' convalescent hospital and twenty-five years ago, Victoria College. So many students enrolled a few years ago, that even the castle's lofty rooms bulged. The college left and the School Board moved in.

The following appeared in the *San Francisco Call,* March 23, 1906:

EDNA WALLACE MEETS CRUSHING REVERSE IN FIGHT FOR DUNSMUIR'S WEALTH

Edna Wallace Hopper, stepdaughter, Joan Olive Dunsmuir, mother and W. S. Leake administrator of the estate of Josephine Dunsmuir, deceased widow of the late Alexander Dunsmuir, have met final defeat in the Superior Court, in their effort to recover a portion of the estate of the dead millionaire. After three ineffectual attempts to state a cause of action against the Pacific Improvement Company which the plaintiffs allege holds property of the deceased worth $8,000,000, Judge Coffey yesterday denied their counsel fur-

ther opportunity and sustained a demurrer to the complaint without leave to amend.

E. W. Hopper and associate plaintiffs first sought to recover by applying to the Probate Court for an order revoking a prior one admitting to probate a certified copy of the will of Alexander Dunsmuir, in which James Dunsmuir, a brother of the deceased, was named as sole devisee. Judge Coffey granted the motion and directed that the original will of the deceased be removed from the records of British Columbia and filed in this city. Had this ruling been sustained it would have permitted the contest of the instrument, the plaintiffs contending that when it was drawn Alexander Dunsmuir was not sound of mind. The Supreme Court, however, reversed this ruling and pointed out that if any remedy existed that would enable the plaintiffs to carry through their intentions to lay in a different forum and that an action in equity alone would lie, providing a cause of action could be stated.

As James Dunsmuir has never been within the jurisdiction of the court it became necessary to join as defendant the Pacific Improvement Company, which, it was alleged, held all the property of the deceased within this state.

The action in equity was instituted, but demurrers to the original and the first amended complaints were sustained. Again the complaint was amended, but for the third time Judge Coffey has decided that it did not state the facts sufficient to constitute a cause of action against the Pacific Improvement Company and sustained a demurrer to the same without leave to amend.

An appeal will be taken to the Supreme Court, but Charles S. Wheeler, counsel for James Dunsmuir, is confident that Judge Coffey will be finally sustained.

The following appeared in the *San Francisco Call,* August 8, 1906.

APPEAL DECIDED AGAINST

The mother of Alexander Dunsmuir joined with the daughter of his wife by another husband, Edna Wallace Hopper, in the effort to break the will by which Alexander Dunsmuir left the bulk of his immense property to his brother James Dunsmuir.

It was alleged that Alexander Dunsmuir had for some time been incompetent by reason of long continued dissipation: also that James Dunsmuir had unduly influenced his brother to leave him the fortune.

The case had been tried in the courts of Canada and then shifted to the courts of California for the reasons that it was then held that the California courts had jurisdiction, as much of the property was in this state, and that the decedent had become a naturalized citizen of the United States. Later for some technical cause, the case was returned to the courts of Canada and upon appeal from the jurisdiction was taken before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. On August 7, 1906, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council recommended the dismissal of the appeal of the case of Dunsmuir vs. Dunsmuir and Hopper vs. Dunsmuir.

Edna Wallace Hopper is a San Francisco girl by birth. Her mother secretly married Alexander Dunsmuir in the East. For some time Alexander Dunsmuir and his new wife lived at the Grand Hotel in this city, later removing to a beautiful hacienda on the Oakland side of the bay. After the death of Alexander Dunsmuir, Edna Wallace Hopper brought suit for her mother's share of the stepfather's estate. It was believed that a substantial victory had been won by the American actress in securing the privilege of the appeal, which is not granted except upon showing of probable error.

The dismissal was a setback for Edna Wallace Hopper.

Chapter **12**

ROBIN DUNSMUIR

Enough has been written of the James Dunsmuir parents to give the reader a very fair insight into the character and lives of both. Now some attempt will be made, and in many cases from a first-hand knowledge, to give some idea of the rather extraordinary family which were to spend the millions so strenuously earned by the coal barons of Vancouver Island.

For one seeking a moral in the acquisition of riches, the answer "easy come, easy go" is most drastically borne out by the rapidity and carelessness which most of James Dunsmuir's children exercised in getting rid of their fortunes.

The case of Robin (Robert William) in some ways draws a parallel with that of his Uncle Alexander for his wandering and mis-spent years do little credit to the family name which had not until that time been a byword for spendthrift and extravagant living. However, it was this same Robin who, with his sprees in San Francisco and South America, and his escapades on transatlantic shipboard, did much (coupled with the huge losses of his sister Elinor, "la riche Canadienne," at the casinos of Cannes and Monte Carlo and the extravagant life led in the boites and night clubs of Paris, during the twenties by some of his younger sisters) to bring the name of Dunsmuir down from the esteem and regard in which it was held at the turn of the century.

Robin went to school in England at Malvern, where he earned no very great credits, but he could draw and had the makings of an engineering career before him. He was blessed with considerable brains like all the rest of the family, but the easy flow of

wealth that was his for the asking bred in him an intolerance of his seniors and a contempt for hard work. His physique was good and he was possessed of a wonderful eye which, unfortunately, only found expression in an almost professional skill at billiards. Like all his family he was a music lover and a great patron of the drama, though as may be imagined his tastes lay more in the line of burlesque and "girlie" shows.

When he came back to Victoria from school in England, he worked for some time in his father's office, but his work consisted for the most part of long hours spent in billiard saloons and even less salubrious spots. His father's admonitions went unheeded. It was not too long before the friction grew so great and young Dunsmuir's conduct so impossible, that his father turned him away and bade him leave the shores of Vancouver Island and Canada. For some time Robin worked in the San Francisco office of R. Dunsmuir and Sons and it was then that he married at Sausalito in California, on November 23, 1901. His wife was a very attractive girl named Maude Allingham Schoobert, but he had not benefited by married life and almost from the outset his wife had found that in many ways he was incompatible.

His drinking was heavy and at times he was placed in some very embarrassing positions. An adventure in which he was the chief figure which took place in San Francisco in November, 1901, will illustrate a pattern of his life at the time of his marriage.

The following is from the *San Francisco Call,* November 20, 1901:

CARD SHARPERS
ROB MINING MAN

Robert W. Dunsmuir, a well-known mining man of British Columbia, had an experience last Monday night that he will not soon forget. He was the victim of two of the cleverest card sharpers known to the police. Dunsmuir was mulcted out of $9,000, and only recovered the amount with the assistance of Captain Seymour and his detectives.

Dunsmuir is a guest at the Palace Hotel. He has been staying there for the past week with his wife and daughter. On Monday night Dunsmuir went out alone after dinner, and in the course of his ramblings dropped into the Café Royal, on the corner of Market and Fourth streets. Dunsmuir was aware of the reputation of the place, but had a natural curiosity to see the victims engaged in their efforts to lure fortune to their side. He became interested in the game and when invited to take a hand was not loath to do so.

Two wily bunko men were given the "tip" that a rich stranger was in their midst and a plan was made to deprive him of his money. Dunsmuir was plied with liquor that was "doped" and was soon playing with a recklessness that could only end in loss. "Pat" hands were dealt to him and he won. When stakes were large enough the schemers would deal themselves high hands and gather in his money.

The bunko men did not allow him to leave the place until he was completely shorn. He returned to his hotel in a dream. The fact that he had been "shaken down" did not dawn upon him until yesterday morning. He remembered that he had left the place with $1,000 in gold and $8,000 in cheques. A search of his pockets failed to reveal the small sized fortune. Dunsmuir immediately stopped payment of the cheques at the bank and then notified the police. Detectives were detailed to find the two men, and within a few hours they were taken to the Hall of Justice. They were forced to return their ill-gotten wealth. Dunsmuir gained possession of his cheques and most of his gold. He was glad to get his money back and declined to prosecute the men. The two card sharpers were allowed to depart, but were ordered to leave town within twenty-four hours.

After the first few years of married life Robin left Maude and went to make his life anew at the instigation of his father, as far away from the shores of British Columbia as possible.

Finally Maude Dunsmuir sought a divorce and on Monday,

January 25, 1915, before the Honourable Mr. Justice Murphy, there was entered the following divorce action:

Maude Allingham Dunsmuir (Petitioner)
Robert William Dunsmuir (Defendant)
& Florence Swinden (Co-Respondent)

Divorce Action, January 25, 1915

The trial of this cause coming on for hearing this day before the Honourable Mr. Justice Murphy upon hearing the oral evidence of the petitioner and upon reading the exhibits produced on the hearing and evidence of the respondent and Walter Lionel Berluier taken upon commission before Mr. Arthur MacKie, His Majesty's Consul General, at Buenos Aires, the Commissioner appointed under the order of this Honourable Court, dated April 14, 1914. Upon reading the certificate of no appearance herein and upon hearing Mr. R. H. Pooley, of counsel for the petitioner, and the respondent and co-respondent not appearing and defending this suit, and the judge being satisfied that the contents of the petition herein have been sufficiently proved, this court doth order and decree that the marriage had and solemnized on the 23rd of November, 1901, at Sausalito, State of California, United States of America, between Maude Allingham Dunsmuir (then Maude Allingham Schoobert) the petitioner and Robert William Dunsmuir the respondent has been guilty of adultery with Florence Swindon the co-respondent herein and has been guilty of cruelty towards the said petitioner.

By the Court
Harvey Combe
Deputy District Registrar

Robin, however, had not been idle in the meantime. We have a document translated from the Spanish which reads:

In the capital of the Argentine republic, on the twenty-

seventh of November, one thousand nine hundred and twelve, before me Second Chief of the Division Eight of the Registry: Roberto Guillermo (Robert William) Dunsmuir, thirty-five years of age, married, British, residing at one thousand seven hundred and two Avenida Alvear, son of Santiago Dunsmuir and Laura Miller Surles declared that on the ninth instant, at half past twelve o'clock in the morning the boy Robin was born at two thousand and twelve Cochabamba, whom I saw lawful son of him and of Florencia (Florence) Swinden, twenty-five years of age, an Englishwoman, daughter of Juan Moore Swinden and Juana Houley.

The act having been read over, the informant and the witnesses Ambrosio de Marco, twenty-four years of age, a bachelor, residing at three thousand seven hundred and eighty-one Independencia, and Pedro Viale, thirty-three years of age, married, residing at two thousand nine hundred and fifty-six Carlos Calvo, signed it with me.

Robert William Dunsmuir
Ambrosio de Marco
Pedro Viale
A. Martearena Centenol

Three years later, still domiciled in the Argentine, we see Robin joined in civil marriage to Florence Swindon.

In the capital of the Argentine republic, on the nineteenth of April, one thousand nine hundred and fifteen, at one-thirty o'clock in the afternoon there appeared before me, Chief of Division Eighteen of the Registry: Roberto Guillermo Dunsmuir, thirty-seven years of age, a bachelor, British, born in Victoria, Canada, of independent means, residing at three thousand three hundred and two Avenida Alvear, son of Jaime Dunsmuir of independent means, and Laura Miller, both British, residing in Canada, and Florencia Swindon, twenty-seven years of age, a spinster, British, born in London, residing at three thousand three hundred and two Ave-

nida Alvear, daughter of Tomas Moore Swindon, of independent means and of Juana Houley, both British, residing in England; and informed me that they wished to marry in the presence of the witnesses, who will be named at the end hereof and who declared that they answered for the identity of the future husband and wife and believed them to be competent to contract marriage. No objection having been raised and after consent had been formally given by the contracting parties, I declared in the name of the law that Roberto Guillermo Dunsmuir and Florencia Swindon were united in marriage. The act having been read over, the husband and wife and the witnesses, Gualterio (Walter) Lionel Berliner, thirty-six years of age, married merchant, residing at three thousand three hundred and two Avenida Alvear and Arturo Preece, thirty-one years of age, married merchant, residing at three thousand three hundred and two Avenida Alvear, signed it with me.

R. W. Dunsmuir
Florence Swindon
W. L. Berliner
A. Preece

Robin Dunsmuir continued to live in the Argentine until the year 1920, when his father died. Then Robin, trading on the love his mother had always kept alive for him despite the strict instructions from her husband to neither see him nor send him money, immediately sought an interview with the widow at Hatley Park. It was a secret meeting, and Robin remained in Canada but a few hours, during which he managed to obtain permission from his mother to send his family to her care in Victoria.

The old lady had made one rigid condition, however, and that was that there should be a church wedding before the family were received at Hatley. She did not hold with civil ceremonies and it may be that she had heard a whisper concerning the validity of the marriage in Buenos Aires.

So Robin went through another marriage celebration, but

again he chose a Catholic country where the Roman Code is law in all churches. Crossing the Andes from Buenos Aires to take a ship to British Columbia, he was forced to wait at Valparaiso in Chile, and it was here on July 23, 1920, that he went through a form of marriage at the British Episcopal Church, using as a basis for the ceremony the civil certificate issued to him five years previously in Buenos Aires.

This seems to have had its effect for the writer can well remember the arrival of the tribe of youngsters, accompanied by their mother, within the regal halls of Hatley Castle. For them it must have been quite a transition—they had spent many months on the pack-trail crossing the Andes, with earthen floors to the huts in which they slept through the night, and mules tethered outside to await the journey next day.

Robin, the eldest, a youngster of eight, for whom Spanish had been the first language known, was heard to counsel Moulina, the baby of two, in a horrified tone after an unintelligible remark from the infant: "Moulina, you must not teach de Granmama de bad words."

It would seem that the young children had had a very sketchy upbringing, not at all in accordance with the notions of the James Dunsmuirs' ideas on how children should behave!

After some time in Victoria, both for educational purposes and other reasons, Mrs. James Dunsmuir decided to send her son's family to England. Robin Sr., of course, all this time had been elsewhere, for even if she did relax her husband's rule regarding his family, Mrs. James always abided by the dying injunction of her late husband, that on no account was his eldest son to be received back into the family. However, it would seem that she now supplied him with money rather more liberally than before his father's death, because we hear of him in Peru in September, 1922, and according to the *Victoria Times* of September 27th:

> President Leguia of Peru in a message to Congress at its opening at Lima recently gave details of the railroads which Robin W. Dunsmuir, son of the late James Dunsmuir and

Mrs. Dunsmuir of Hatley Park, Victoria, will construct in Peru.

Altogether Mr. Dunsmuir will build 2,400 miles of railroad at a cost of $120,000,000. These lines will connect up the coast strip of Peru, through the Cordillera Mountains to the elevated and level lands of such interior districts known as the Montaña Region. Mr. Dunsmuir is considered likely to raise the money by bond issue in New York.

Apparently Robin's plans for this railroad were in the process of being submitted to the government of Peru when his unfortunate trip on the S.S. *Mauretania* put an end to a promising deal.

The story, as told to a member of the family by Maurice Hills, the Dunsmuir family solicitor, is handed down to illustrate the nature of the man wherein brilliance struggled with pig-headedness and grandiose self-pride. It seems that some of the proposed backers of Robin's scheme to raise a bond issue for the Peruvian Railroad were Robin's co-passengers on this trip across the Atlantic. It may be that a descent on the London bond houses had entered the picture. At any rate, Robin was accompanied by Maurice Hills, an Englishman of slightly eccentric carriage, his bowler hat accompanying him wherever he went. The two of them made a queer pair—the Canadian millionaire's playboy son, now tinged with the "South American" manner, and the stilted English lawyer whom ten years in Canada had altered not an iota.

All went well for the first two days and the deal was almost in the bag, the bond issue fully underwritten, and Robin installed as managing director of the company when the worst happened. Robin went on the most prodigious bender and had to be restrained from jumping into the ocean.

Maurice Hills, the lawyer, was beside himself, but Robin, in the full flight of his delirium, ran hither and thither. His former self-proposed backers, viewing their "general manager" behaving like a wild Indian, hastily effaced themselves from his path and held a council of crisis. It was decided to make an offer for the plans of the proposed railroad but on no account whatever to have

anything to do with the uncontrolled drinker who had drawn them up. A deputation therefore approached Maurice Hills with extreme caution, first making sure that the eccentric young man was nowhere in his vicinity, and laid their proposition in front of the lawyer.

Maurice Hills, knowing young Dunsmuir of yore, was dubious in the extreme, but when the bender was somewhat spent and the ship was drawing into dock, he tentatively approached his employer's son and told him that the group had reconsidered and decided against him as general manager, but that they wanted to offer him a million dollars for the plans. Robin, angry at them, seized the plans from the terrified lawyer and flung them over the side of the ship.

After all her efforts to help him retain some kind of position in the world, Mrs. Dunsmuir had to acknowledge failure. From then on the old lady in Hatley Park more or less gave her eldest son up as a bad job.

He drifted about the world for a number of years and remained as far as he could from his children and their mother, so that he would not be called upon to support them. His last years were spent in Singapore in a second-rate hotel, where his chief occupation, when sober enough, was "to play the races."

In the *Victoria Times* of January 8, 1929, we read:

> According to cable information received here from Singapore by members of the family, Mr. Robert William Dunsmuir, elder son of the late Hon. James Dunsmuir, and grandson of Robert Dunsmuir, founder of the Wellington Collieries, passed away there after a brief illness.

He must have left few regrets behind him, for if ever a man who had entered the world with "a silver spoon in his mouth" did not live up to his heritage, that man was Robert W. Dunsmuir.

Chapter **13**

JAMES DUNSMUIR AS PREMIER

In the Legislature of February, 1901, Premier Dunsmuir had some stormy passages over some of the questions from the floor, but on the whole he had the confidence of the people in the innate honesty of purpose and sense of doing the right and just things that was an inherent part of his nature, if not in his political acumen, in which he never professed any great strength.

The election issue between a Mr. Garden and a Mr. Macpherson on February 21st was summed up by the *Colonist:*

> As it is Mr. Dunsmuir's desire to carry on the affairs of the Province on business lines, the choice of the people of Vancouver will contribute to strengthen his hand.

A coal master, a machinist, and a businessman, but a politician —no—James Dunsmuir was much too honest for such a profession.

He was not an eloquent speaker, but his utterances were forthright and to the point. Possibly against a background foil of eloquent oratory he would seem stilted and abrupt.

On February 26th, Mr. Dunsmuir, as Premier, moved an address to King Edward VII, partly by way of condolence on the death of his mother and partly as congratulations on his ascending the throne.

A Mr. Denis Murphy, of West Yale, electrified the House by a magnificent speech moving the adoption of the address and also in reply to the speech from the throne.

In the same session, Mr. Dunsmuir was hotly assailed by Mr. E. V. Bodwell on the question of the proposed Kootenay to the

Coast Railway. Mr. Bodwell charged that Mr. Dunsmuir and his cabinet were under the influence of the Canadian Pacific Railway. This the Premier indignantly denied, together with all Mr. Bodwell's charges, and he was cheered by the members of the Legislature.

The following appeared in the *Colonist* March 21, 1901:

> Mr. Dunsmuir very indignantly repudiated in the House yesterday the statements made at the theatre by Mr. Bodwell, substantially to the effect that he was being influenced by the Canadian Pacific Railway in his course toward the Coast Kootenay Line. He was followed by Messrs. Eberts, Martin and Brown who all expressed themselves very strongly in regard to these questions affecting the public welfare otherwise than from a broad and patriotic standpoint . . .
>
> The people of British Columbia will trust Mr. Dunsmuir to do what he believes to be right . . .

The year 1901, besides being a vivid year in the social life of both the James Dunsmuir family who were at "Burleith" and the senior branch at Craigdarroch, was an important one for James Dunsmuir.

His brother had died and his interests had been willed to James, and although the gigantic "will suit" was to flare into headlines and reach its peak in 1904, James was really in full command of the Dunsmuir family fortunes.

He was Premier of British Columbia and the most important man in the Province, besides being the richest. But it was while he was away on a trip to Ottawa with Hon. Mr. Eberts that a great tragedy befell a large part of the mines at Union Bay.

The following appeared on February 16, 1901, in the *Colonist:*

> Explosion at the Union Mines. Furious fire and masses of debris cut off the escape of sixty-five miners in Shaft No. 6. All attempts at rescue fruitless. The miners on No. 5 have a close call.

This tragedy, happening at a time when Dunsmuir was away, caused considerable disquiet and anxiety among mine personnel. A special train was rushed to the scene carrying the manager of the Union Colliery Company and Mr. Dunsmuir's lifelong friend, Frank "Dib" Little. Joseph Hunter, the superintendent of the E & N Railway, A. Lindsay and others were aboard also.

The newspaper report continues:

> After the party had been taken to the scene of the disaster the *Joan* returned and will go to Vancouver today to meet Premier Dunsmuir who returns from the East on the Pacific Express. Mr. E. C. Pooley, secretary of the Coal Company, went over to Vancouver this morning to meet the Premier and to accompany him to Union.

Mr. Dunsmuir was hurrying back. He did not like to be away too long; for him the trappings of Ottawa and federal politics were absolute anathema, for he was a miner and a machinist at heart and, if his interests could be said to embrace anything else, it was fishing and shooting and the life he was later to enjoy on his yacht *Dolaura* and certainly not that life to be found in the halls and antechambers of legislative buildings.

On February 14, 1901, the *Colonist* reports:

> On the way home the Premier and Mr. Eberts pass through Winnipeg on the way West.

A report from Winnipeg relates the following:

> Premier Dunsmuir of British Columbia, accompanied by Mrs. Dunsmuir and Miss Dunsmuir, Hon. D. M. Eberts and R. E. Gosnell, the private secretary to the Premier, and Oscar Bass, private secretary to Mr. Eberts, arrived in the city from the East this morning, and continued on their way to the Coast this afternoon.
>
> Premier Dunsmuir and Mr. Eberts have been interviewing

members of the federal government regarding a number of matters of provincial management. He said the negotiations had been very satisfactory.

Immediately on arriving at the Coast, James Dunsmuir's first action was to rush to Union and see what could be done for the miners affected by the disaster and their bereaved families.

This unhappy event was one of the most tragic mine disasters to overtake the industry in British Columbia and naturally, having been raised as it were almost at the "pit-head," Dunsmuir took it to heart most grievously.

From tragedy to pomp and splendour this history of the Dunsmuirs unfolds through its hundred years of romance, and the truly momentous year of 1901 is highlighted by the visit of royalty to Victoria.

The greatest and most outstanding event of this year of 1901 for the people of Victoria was probably the visit of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York, later King George V and Queen Mary.

The description by Jim Nesbitt, written in the *Colonist* exactly fifty years later, of this visit, is as follows:

> Never before, or since, was the city so lavishly decorated. There were spectacular arches at half a dozen spots, the old wooden bridge over the Inner Harbor mud flats was dressed with bunting, flags and Japanese lanterns. Whole bolts of red, white and blue cloth streamed from office windows. Victoria, in the style of the day, looked like a circus.
>
> Victoria really let itself go to greet a smiling, bearded future monarch, who was to reign 25 years, and the tall, willowy Princess May, now, at 84, England's Queen Mother.
>
> The Royal couple had 23 maids, valets and assorted servants. Their retinue was composed of a dozen lords and ladies, including the Princess' brother, Prince Alexander of Teck, later the Earl of Athlone, Governor-General of Canada. The party landed at the Outer Wharf from the liner *Empress* of India.

There were no motor cars in those days, so all the city's finest carriages were commandeered. The party brought its own specially trained horses.

The Royal couple drove down the dusty old Esquimalt Road in their shining black carriage, the Duchess shielding herself from the hot sun with a black parasol, to have luncheon with Rear Admiral Bickford aboard H.M.S. *Warspite.* On the way back the Royal carriages drove through picturesquely-decorated Chinatown. The *Colonist* said: "Time was fleeting and the carriages hurried through lantern-hung Chinatown, T.H.R. getting a good whiff, no doubt, of the pungent punk. Rounding the City Hall corner, their carriage drove at a good pace, leaving the cheering crowd watching the dust from the quickly revolving carriage wheels."

While the Duke rested in his hotel suite, the Duchess and her ladies-in-waiting drove to Point Ellice Bridge and boarded a fleet of launches. Said the *Colonist:* "Embarked in these, they proceeded up Victoria Arm, drinking in the scenic loveliness for which that favoured nook is so far famed. The bright, clear sunlight, mellowed by a cooling breeze, made the trip delightful. After admiring the beauties of the Gorge, the launches were headed for Premier James Dunsmuir's boathouse, where the party landed and made a call on Mrs. Dunsmuir at 'Burleith.' "

The Duke and Duchess attended a public reception in the Legislative Chamber and went to Jubilee Hospital, to be greeted by C. A. Holland, president of the board of directors, Matron Alcorn and resident physician, Dr. Hasell.

After a busy two days the Royal party returned to Vancouver in the Empress of India and started home to London, after being absent eight months on an Empire tour.

Although during his lifetime James Dunsmuir only met the British Royal family on two or three occasions, for Mrs. James a visit from the illustrious rulers of the British Empire became almost a commonplace before she died.

On each and every occasion that royalty, in the shape of a

crowned head, visited Victoria, they made a point of paying a visit to the chatelaine of Hatley Park almost as soon as their official call at Government House had taken place.

THE TRIP TO THE CORONATION

In 1902, the James Dunsmuir family attended the coronation of King Edward VII in London. It was a great event for the Dunsmuirs. Though they had been prominent socially and politically in their own hemisphere, the prospect of mixing with the topmost personalities from every corner of the globe at the brilliant festivities attending a Coronation set the two girls, Bessie and Maye, and, truth to tell, Mrs. James herself, into a fever of excitement. So they went over to Europe in advance of the Premier, for James Dunsmuir had attained this foremost position in the Province by this time, and awaited his arrival at the Hotel Metropole.

Bessie Dunsmuir tells this story to illustrate the slowness with which letters travelled at the turn of the century. "Maye and I were walking along Piccadilly one day with Mother during the period before Father's arrival in England and suddenly we heard the London newsboys crying out 'Premier's yacht burnt to the water's edge.' Thinking little of it we bought a paper. Imagine our consternation and anxiety when we found that yacht to be the *Thistle* belonging to Father, then Premier of B.C."

But on June 8, 1902, Premier Dunsmuir left Vancouver Island to join his family in London and we read in the *Colonist* of that date:

> Premier Dunsmuir starts for London to represent the Province. Premier Dunsmuir left last night at 9:30 for the outer wharf on the Tug Boat Pilot for Seattle. Quite a little party was down at the wharf to see him off and wish him Godspeed, including the Hon. D. M. Eberts, the Hon. E. G. Prior, Hon. W. C. Wells, J. Hunter, M.P.P., W. H. Hayward,

M.P.P., J. Garden, M.P.P., R. Cassidy, K.C., R. Dunsmuir, J. A. Lindsay and others

Three cheers were given for the Premier as the boat left the wharf. Mr. Dunsmuir will connect with the Great Northern eastbound train leaving Seattle at 7:45 A.M. this morning.

If no delays occur he will arrive at New York next Friday at 5 A.M. where he will be joined by Mr. R. E. Gosnell, his private secretary.

They will take passage on the Cunarder *Etruria* leaving New York Saturday, June 14th. The *Etruria* is not one of the fastest of the Cunard liners, but should make the trip to Liverpool well under the eight days. The journey from Liverpool occupies exactly four hours—so the chances are Mr. Dunsmuir will be in London for dinner the 21st June.

The trip across the continent to New York must have gone off without incident and Mr. Dunsmuir found good time to catch his Cunarder, for the next time we have any news of the progress of his party is in an account which reached the *Victoria Colonist* on July 27th from London and headed:

CANADIANS IN LONDON

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE VOYAGE. WHO FIXED THE HANDS? BRITISH COLUMBIA PREMIER AN HONOURED GUEST OF SOCIETY.

The voyage from New York to London was an exceedingly pleasant one. Among the passengers were Sir Wilfred Laurier, Hon. G. W. Ross, the Premier of Ontario, Hon. Mr. Duffy, Treasurer of Quebec, and Mr. Dunsmuir, Premier of British Columbia, and their respective secretaries. Remarkable poker hands on the way across—some of the boys whiled away their time with a game of poker, in which one of the most remarkable deals on record was made.

A certain gentleman—who shall be nameless—from the Pacific Coast, dealt the hands. Each man bet the limit before

the deal, which was raised five or six times. When the dealer asked for cards, every man in the game of six stood "pat" and it transpired after the bet had been raised five or six times that each man had a full hand. Three aces and two fours won the pot, which went to the dealer. The limit was harmless—ten cents.

Whether or not James Dunsmuir arrived in London for dinner on June 21st is not here related, but anyway, he was fit to take on a considerable round of gaieties. What the Premier, who was of a retiring nature, did not care to attend, his wife and daughter Bessie took in their stride. Maye, who was a little more retiring than her vivacious elder sister, also missed one or two of the more strenuous social engagements but was present with her mother and Bessie at a goodly number of functions in London that strove to outdo each other in welcoming these visitors from so far distant a colony. Truth to tell a millionaire coal baron with beautiful daughters was eyed with some concern by London hostesses, hoping to catch an eligible spouse for an ugly duckling blessed with little of this world's goods.

The article continues:

Among the functions were the following which may be regarded as fairly representative of what occurred:

The Hon. Mr. Dunsmuir was probably the most honoured in respect of the colonials and Mrs. and the Misses Dunsmuir who had arrived several weeks in advance of the Premier had already received very considerable attention. As your readers will probably have seen, they were presented at Court and the following is an extract from the Court Journal:

"Mrs. Dunsmuir, wife of the Premier of British Columbia, wore an exquisite gown, the skirt of white satin, with trellis work of point de gaze paillete connected with jewelled chiffon roses, the flounces and back panel in gold and diamond embroidered point de gaze. Train of rose pink panne, lined

with petal shaped chiffon, with train of la France roses. Bouquet de la France Roses, Vernon of London.

"Miss Bessie Dunsmuir: A charming gown of cream chiffon embroidered with lisse and chiffon roses, pailletted in silver over white satin, the bodice of embroidered chiffon with a garniture of lilies of the valley. Train of white chiffon, composed entirely of deep tucks mounted on cloth of silver, with garlands of lilies of the valley. Bouquet of same flowers. Made by Jolivard of Paris."

List of Invitations:

Afternoon reception	Duchess of Sutherland.
June 22nd	Luncheon—Susan, Countess of Malmsbury.
June 24th	Evening reception—Lady Sasoon.
June 27th	At Home—Mrs. Herbert Chamberlain.
June 28th	Garden Party—Countess of Jersey.
July 1st	Lord Strathcona's dinner at Hotel Cecil.
	Reception—Marchioness of Landsdowne.
July 2nd	Tea—Lady Clarke Travers.
	At Home—Mrs. William Lowther at Lowther Lodge.
July 3rd	Reception at Lyceum—Sir Henry Irving.
July 4th	Duchess of Somerset.
July 5th	Dinner—Hon. Oliver and Mrs. Howard.
July 9th	Reception—Lady Wimborne.
July 16th	Canadian Club Dinner—Reception—Lady Windsor for Duke and Duchess of Connaught.
July 29th	Sir Wilfred and Lady Lawson.

During their stay in England the Dunsmuir family made the Metropole their headquarters, but they were asked for and paid

several exceedingly pleasant visits to country houses and estates in the home counties and other parts of England.

One of these was to Sir Henry and Lady Bromley at Stoke and the home of Admiral Bromley, then Lieutenant Bromley, R.N. and afterwards the husband of Maye Dunsmuir. The Dunsmuirs also paid a visit to Dallam Tower, the home of Sir Maurice Bromley Wilson, in Westmoreland, and while there went on for a visit to Sir Wilfred and Lady Lawson in Cumberland. While nearer London they paid a visit to Captain and Mrs. Cecil Hankey at Chichester and Major Hugh Streatfield, who, like Mr. Dunsmuir, had coal mine interests.

The list of people who called on the Dunsmuirs at their suite at the Metropole was almost a replica of Debretts Peerage at the turn of the century—Sir Gilbert Parker and Lady Parker, Countess of Shrewsbury, Sir Guy and Lady Clarke Travers, Sir Henry and Lady Bromley, Admiral and Mrs. Palliser, Admiral Sir H. Stevenson, and Commdr. Godfrey Faussett and Lt. Gen. Laurie and Mrs. Joseph Boscowitz.

The British Columbia party attended the review of colonial troops at the Horse Guards' Parade Grounds and also the review of Indian troops at the same place. At both of these functions they occupied the foremost seats and enjoyed the spectacle with "feelings of pride."

It could be that this visit to London and the Court of St. James paved the way for the announcement in the *Colonist* at a later date, June 30, 1905:

> It is reported that Mr. James Dunsmuir of Victoria, former Premier of B.C., will be named as Lieutenant Governor in succession to Sir Henri de Lotbinière. Sir Henri will probably continue in office until the autumn to preside at the opening ceremony of the Dominion Exposition, although the term of his original appointment has already terminated.

Chapter **14**

"BOY" DUNSMUIR

After the disappointment occasioned by the behaviour of his eldest son Robin, James Dunsmuir decided that if ever he were lucky enough to be given another male heir he would bring him up on very different lines. Therefore, when, after a succession of daughters, he was granted his heart's desire, he set about making the youngster into a really worthwhile heir to his vast fortune and wide holdings throughout British Columbia.

The boy at no time in his life was able to draw on the limitless spending accounts that Robin had commanded before his disinheritance. At times it is possible that James Sr. even erred on the side of frugality where the young man was concerned, but "Boy," as young Jim was called, did not suffer to any great extent through this stringent course of treatment, and when death called him at an early age he was still unspoiled.

Brought up in an atmosphere of adoring sisters and an indulgent mother, "Boy" was plunged at an early age into the discipline of school life. In continuing his scholastic studies he had a session at Boltons, now University School, where one of his contemporaries was the present "Robbie" Ker of Victoria. Robbie went to Haileybury but later rejoined "Boy" Dunsmuir in the B.C. Horse.

For "Boy," however, the rigours of a hard Scottish school were chosen by that ardent Scottish father who probably remembered his own father quoting Robbie Burns and this time decided he'd make no mistake by sending his son to one of the "softer" English schools.

"Boy" Dunsmuir was sent to Loretto where, no doubt, on account of his Canadian accent, the spoiling he had had at the hands of his sisters, and the fact that he himself was small and rather prone to skin blemishes, he must have had a truly terrible time for the first few months, but not a word did he say to his father, his mother, or his sisters in faraway British Columbia. He had considerable "guts," and if he were bullied, no one knew about it outside the school.

The passion of "Boy's" life was horses. Afterwards it was largely on "Boy's" account that the Hatley stables were filled with show jumpers and polo ponies, hunters and hacks, all under the headgroom Mann. These hunters and thoroughbreds had cost James Dunsmuir the earth, and many of them had come in package deal, with no limit to price from a dealer named Thompson, near Maidenhead, who had been given the order to ship out a "string"—regardless—to a Canadian millionaire named Dunsmuir. Many years later, this same dealer related to James Audain, then a cadet at the R.M.C. Sandhurst, the tale of the order from the wealthy Canadian which at the time, to him, had been a Godsend.

"Boy's" two favourites were Kismet and Nigger. Kismet, a gray show-jumper of high quality, had been bought in the United Kingdom and shipped out to "Boy" in Montreal. Kismet had gone on to win the Open Jumping at the Montreal Horse Show. Nigger was a thoroughbred black mare, possessed of a fine turn of speed and won several Military Races for "Boy." Afterwards, the horse became the property of Marion Dunsmuir.

The author relates two particular incidents that stick in his memory concerning his Uncle Jim. One occurred when he was a young schoolboy passing through Montreal with his father, Guy Audain. He was taken with some members of the Allen family to watch "Boy" (who was then working in the Bank of Montreal) jump in the Horse Show. After a particularly good round by Kismet and his rider, he heard one of the party say to another, "You know, young Jim Dunsmuir goes without his lunch to buy that darn horse his oats." And, as such things will, it

struck literally the youngster's fancy and forever after he carried a most warm feeling for the uncle who would go without his dinner to buy food for his horse.

The other incident was rather an ominous one and happened on the last occasion that the author saw his uncle alive. The young man was walking round the Hatley estate with his young nephew, carrying a .22 rifle and occasionally taking a pot-shot at anything that showed up. They had reached the lagoon waterfront and a particularly evil-looking heron was fishing at the mouth of a little stream. Running into the lagoon without thinking and perhaps to impress his nephew, "Boy" Dunsmuir took a shot at the bird of ill-omen and dropped it where it stood. The author vividly remembers relating the incident to one of the staff, possibly John the footman, or Fenton the sewing-maid, or perhaps even Packe the butler, for one of them said, "No good will come of that shot. To shoot a heron spells bad luck." Later, when at school in England, the boy heard the tragic news of his uncle's death on the *Lusitania,* the first thought that entered his mind was of the heron on the banks of the Esquimalt Lagoon.

"Boy" Dunsmuir was made of quite different material from his elder brother Robin; there was none of the "big shot" stuff about Jim. He did not talk big and act small, nor had he the coarseness of the elder son.

While in Montreal he worked in the bank for a modest salary, which his father, the millionaire, did little to supplement. But "Boy" did not demean himself by writing home and asking his mother for funds. He reckoned that if his father gave him a stipulated allowance it was up to him to stay within its limits. If he wanted to keep a horse that was his own affair.

It was obviously the intention of Hon. James Dunsmuir to leave Hatley Park and a considerable portion of his vast wealth to young Jim, but fate decreed otherwise, and "Boy" died a tragic death when only twenty-one.

At the outbreak of war, like many another young fellow, Jim Dunsmuir rushed to serve his country and enlisted in the B.C. Horse; later, the Second C.M.R.'s, which was stationed at the

Willows, just outside Victoria. "Boy" was delighted and entered into army life thoroughly, especially that of a cavalry regiment. In December, 1914, he went to Winnipeg and at the Cavalry School there took the course which qualified him for his lieutenancy.

The family at Hatley Park were enjoying to the full the life in the lovely surroundings of the sumptuous park and baronial castle, with its home farm, its horses, nearby golf links and several motorcars. True, England and the Continent were plunged in the death throes of total war and certain members of the family were already overseas at the theatre of hostilities, but England seemed far away and France, where the battle was being fought, farther still. As Byrdie Audain wrote to her son Jimmy at his school in the south of England: "There seems so little we here can do except hope and send parcels."

Death touched the Dunsmuir family in March, 1916, for on the 28th of March, the following appeared in the *Colonist:*

> Mr. John Bryden called to rest. Esteemed pioneer citizen died suddenly . . . came to Victoria fifty-two years ago . . . was member of Legislature.
>
> John Bryden was born in Ayrshire, Scotland, on December 9, 1831. He came to Vancouver Island in 1863, as manager of the Vancouver Island Coal Co. at Nanaimo. Four years later he married Elizabeth Hamilton Dunsmuir and became associated with his father-in-law as manager of the coal mines at Wellington, where he resided for a quarter of a century.
>
> Mrs. Bryden died at Head Street, her Esquimalt home in June, 1911, leaving two sons, John D. and Robert D., and one daughter Olive, now wife of Captain A. D. Macdonald of the Royal Artillery, now serving in an instruction and training camp in England.
>
> John Bryden represented Nanaimo District in the seventh and eighth Legislative Assemblies.

However, this death did not very greatly affect the young Dunsmuirs. Men were being killed by the thousands on the other

side of the ocean and young Jim was hoping that every day that passed would bring him nearer to "the Front."

Life as a troop leader at the Willows had its compensations, however, for we see in the *Colonist* of April 6, 1915:

> Enjoyable event at Willows: Easter Gymkhana in aid of Belgian Fund took place in brilliant sunshine before large gathering. Among the results:
>
> Event No. 5, Victoria Cross Race
> 1. Lieut. Bennett
> 2. Lieut. Dunsmuir
> 3. Sergt. Heinecke
>
> Event No. 9, Jumping Competition for Gentlemen
> 1. Lieut. Dunsmuir's black mare Nigger

This was the last time young "Boy" Dunsmuir was to figure before the public in a mounted sport; in fact, in any way at all other than the final rendezvous with death amid a shipload of passengers torpedoed on the high seas.

In the *Colonist* of May 8, 1915, we read:

> Pirates take lives of 1500. Torpedo great Cunarder *Lusitania* off Irish Coast and sink her with passengers aboard.
>
> Victorians who were aboard: fifteen booked passage here on ill-fated liner, Lieut. Dunsmuir was among number.
>
> Lieut. J. Dunsmuir, son of the Hon. James Dunsmuir, was a passenger on the *Lusitania*. Lieut. Dunsmuir, who was an officer of the Second C.M.R.'s up till three weeks ago, resigned his commission in that regiment in order to proceed direct to England and get a commission in a British regiment and proceed to the Front as soon as possible.
>
> He joined the Second C.M.R., then known as the B.C. Horse, in August last year. In December he took the Cavalry School course in Winnipeg, and qualified for his lieutenancy. Lieut. Dunsmuir was exceedingly popular with his

brother officers and the men under his command. He was a very fine horseman and won many prizes in regimental sports. He was twenty-one years of age last January.

The inquest on the tragic bodies recovered from the loss of the *Lusitania* was held at Kinsale, near Queenstown. Major Audain, then on duty in the south of England at the Indian Military Depot at Milford, Hants, obtained emergency leave of absence and went to search for any traces of his brother-in-law—but in vain.

He tells a story of a lucky break for a Canadian lady, a Mrs. Kathleen Hammond, who was laid out for dead on a mortuary slab. A doctor passing by happened to take a second glance, for she was a woman of considerable beauty. He thought he detected some slight semblance of life. Artificial respiration was applied and the lady was returned to life. Unfortunately this could not be the case with young Dunsmuir. On May 11th, we read:

> Seven survivors in Victoria party. Cablegram from Cunard Company confirms report of those saved from liner *Lusitania.*
>
> As far as can be ascertained up to the present time, seven of the Victoria passengers who were aboard the *Lusitania* when she was torpedoed and sunk off the Irish Coast are among the survivors.
>
> Despite numerous cable enquiries, nothing has been heard of the others who include Lieut. James Dunsmuir, Mrs. B. G. Wickings-Smith, Mr. C. H. Weir, and Mr. and Mrs. George E. Stokes and son.

The loss of the *Lusitania,* carrying several well-known Victorians, sparked an outbreak of rioting in the city and on May 9th, we read:

> Rioters wreck City premises. Mob in anti-German demonstration does damage estimated at $20,000. Police are powerless.

The rumour that got about that some of the local Germans had celebrated the sinking of the *Lusitania* as a German victory was said to be the cause of the disturbances. Soldiers invaded the Blanshard Hotel and wrecked the premises—smashing furniture, pictures and cash machines and demanding that the Union Jack be displayed. With cries of "On to the German Club" the mob rushed to 902 Government Street, where three hundred shouting and singing individuals strove to do as much damage as possible. This was followed by a movement of "Back to the Kaiserhof." The riot did not get under control till the military had been called out and the situation brought to order by the intervention of 150 troops, fully armed. Unfortunately, all this hooliganism could not restore to the Dunsmuirs, or to the other families who had lost their loved ones, their departed.

Chapter **15**

THE JAMES DUNSMUIR DAUGHTERS

Although we have set apart two chapters to deal with the lives of two of the Dunsmuir men—Alexander and Robert William—both of whom were colourful if not completely orthodox characters, it is not the purpose of this book to deal in detail with the life of each of the James Dunsmuir daughters, especially as some did little to contribute to the history of the province of British Columbia.

However, the daughters were so separated in age groups that it seems advisable to deal with the three elder ones—Byrdie, Bessie, and Maye—more nearly their own mother's contemporaries, and then discuss the "Dunsmuir Kids," as they were called, Marion, Muriel and Kathleen, finally perhaps spending a short time on the two who more or less stood apart: Elinor, who died in 1938, a spinster, and Dola, many years the younger and the contemporary and play-fellow of the author of this book, and who is still alive and living in New York.

Byrdie, afterwards Mrs. Guy Audain, was born in North Carolina at the home of her mother's parents at Little River Academy. She returned to Nanaimo with her mother, still almost a bride, and knew the hard times as well as the affluent later days, for her mother had to look after her husband, James, who went daily to the mine, and at the same time mind the brood of youngsters increasing year by year under the James Dunsmuir roof.

Thus it was that Byrdie became the young mother's helper and confidant in the difficult early days. She did not know the luxury of perfectly schooled butlers or having the rug tucked round her

feet by the obsequious footman before starting out on a motor drive. She had to take the horse and trap and run the family errands while her mother nursed the latest baby. She, too, had to discipline the younger members, for the mother was too much occupied with the latest baby in arms to curb the small children. And that is probably why she was not particularly popular with some of her younger sisters, except Kathleen, whom truth to tell she spoiled considerably.

Later, of course, Byrdie went to school in England at Eastbourne, and then to Leipzig to study music, but it was the early days that made the eldest Dunsmuir daughter so very close to her mother and more than a friend and confidant to her father, then comparatively a young man and busy in the active management of the mines.

However, before the brilliant marriage we have read about in previous pages, she had a period of parties and gaieties such as any young girl would love, and her fair share of beaus certainly came her way, for she was a very beautiful girl with a marvellous figure.

Among her most persistent admirers were Harry Pooley and Brian Drake, also Al Lindsay and Frank Ward. However, it was the dashing young Irish officer but lately arrived from India who finally captured her for her lifetime.

Of her sisters, Bessie was her greatest friend, and the two had great times together at the parties at "Burleith," on the Gorge at the races and at fancy dress balls.

Maye, afterwards Lady Bromley, was at school in New York. She came home almost at the time of her marriage to the handsome young Naval officer who is now Admiral Sir Arthur Bromley, K.C.M.G. She went to live in England and although she was from time to time a summer visitor to British Columbia, most of her married life was spent in England where her sailor husband was an extremely popular figure at the Court of St. James. It was in England that later her children grew up and married.

Byrdie, however, as Mrs. Audain, lived for many years in Victoria. She was loved by all for her kindliness and charitable works

(about which she said little) and many a Victorian owes more than one happy hour to the generous hostess of 550 Foul Bay Road (Ellora), who moved so quietly to accomplish her good works. For this kindliness and generosity she had to thank the early training she had had in Nanaimo, where to help others had been the order of the day.

Mrs. Hope, too, was of an exceptionally kind and generous nature and even today is a tremendous lover of social gatherings and society functions. A great devotee of change, the number of houses Bessie Hope has owned must be legion. From the time of her first marriage to John Hope, son of Sir Edward Hope, in 1907, from Claridges, London, she was constantly here, there and everywhere from British Columbia to England and Scotland, and then Cannes, Monte Carlo and back again to Canada, each time with a new house on her hands, which, to give her due, she would considerably improve during her stay therein.

Her marriage in London was quite a society affair and as notable in its way as the ones of her sisters in Victoria. She was given away by Sir Wilfred Laurier, since her father, then Lieutenant Governor, could not absent himself from British Columbia. The function was held at St. Marks in North Audley Street, and she was married by Canon Sheppard, then chaplain to Royalty, who was afterwards to add to his fame by fathering the famous Dick Sheppard of St. Martin-in-the-Fields.

Both Bessie and Maye lived in England during the years from their marriage until Mr. Dunsmuir's death, but Byrdie (Mrs. Audain) came back to settle in Victoria when her father moved from "Burleith" to Government House in 1906.

She had had an unhappy two and a half years in India, for six months after the birth of her first born, James (author of this book), she left England to join her husband who was soldiering in the East.

She had several tales to tell about India. Most of them illustrate her active dislike of the country. Snakes were her pet aversion and she was unfortunate enough to encounter them at every turn. To Byrdie Audain India was full of snakes. A vivid and

unhappy experience befell her when she went out on shikhari for the first time. She saw her native butler eaten alive by a crocodile before her very eyes! Left alone in the camp, while the men of the party went out after big game, she was idly watching the river bank towards the evening for the return of the hunting party, when she heard shouts and saw something threshing about in the water. Hastily rushing down to the bank she came upon a gesticulating crowd of women and camp servants who informed her what she had just witnessed had been the end of their native steward, who inadvertently had approached too near a man-eating crocodile lurking in the vicinity! The crocodile was later shot, and a number of native bangles (as worn by the washer-women who had been his victims) were recovered from his stomach. Heartily sick of India, crocodiles, and snakes and worrying about the health of her infant who had been recently suffering from impure milk and was only saved by recourse to the milk of the compound goat, she cabled her father saying she wished to go home.

James Dunsmuir generously replied saying he would make up the sum in annual payments that his daughter's husband would have got had he stayed on in India to command his Regiment—and at the same time Major Audain could return to British Columbia and act as the Lieutenant Governor's A.D.C.

So, in late 1905 the Audains returned to Victoria and moved into "Burleith" when James Dunsmuir took up his position as Lieutenant-Governor at Government House.

In "Burleith" the young Jimmy Audain spent his early boyhood. His playmates were Ronald Winter, the coachman's son, and the Innis girls who lived next door in Craigflower Road. The youngster well remembered his grandfather's visits as James Dunsmuir was probably at his best with children and was very fond indeed of his eldest grandson, a fact later proved by the gift of his beautiful pair of Purdey guns to the boy of seventeen at the time of his death.

Here, too, it was that the strong affection between Dola, the youngest of the James Dunsmuir daughters and her nephew,

Jimmy Audain who was three months her senior, first began and blossomed into a feeling that later became more like that between brother and sister than aunt and nephew.

Byrdie Audain bore her second child, Laura, in 1909 at "Burleith," and the little girl was brought into the world by the ever faithful Dunsmuir family physician, Dr. Wasson, who had first been associated with the family when doctor at the Wellington Mines. The baby took a lot of Byrdie's strength and in later life (she died at the early age of forty-six) she was very much of an invalid.

Naturally the Audains saw a considerable amount of the James Dunsmuirs at Government House and on one occasion young Jimmy shared his aunt's nursery in the big house on the top of the hill named Carey Castle (Government House) for several months while his parents were away on a trip. Dola's severe but well-loved nurse, Miss Easom, ruled the nursery like a barrack square, and on one occasion when young Jimmy locked himself in the bathroom and was unable to unlatch the door his playmate aunt dissolved into a flood of tears and took a long time to be comforted. The footman, John Jamieson, was forced to climb up on a ladder and undo the door from within. Such antics would undoubtedly earn young Jimmy heavy punishment, thought Dola. However, on the whole those were happy days and the evening romps and games of "bears" with the Lieutenant Governor gave the children untold pleasure.

Dola worshipped her father and he adored his youngest daughter in return.

"Burleith" days were happy for young Jimmy Audain. As the eldest grandchild and playmate to the youngest Dunsmuir daughter he was spoiled by both his mother and his grandparents, while his aunts, in those days, thought the little boy with his round, chubby face, and his "cow-lick" rather cute.

The colourful Indian regatta held on the May 24th celebrations each year was the highlight for young Jimmy. He loved to see the flashing paddles of the Indians, and listen to their war whoops as they sped the "dug-outs" so rapidly over the sunny waters of

the Gorge and Jimmy watched with the big crowd from the rock crowned with its flag pole at the bottom of the garden of "Burleith."

Highlighted too were the visits with his father and perchance a young friend to the "Gorge Park" with its sideshows, its booths, Japanese gardens and its maze, while in the evening the myriad Japanese lanterns transformed the park into fairyland.

George Winter, the Dunsmuir coachman, and his son, Ronnie, were very important figures in the life of young Jimmy, and about the first time death touched his young life was when George Winter passed away. For many years afterwards the youngster felt a sense of guilt that it was he and Ronnie who had turned the carriage hose on Winter previous to his catching the bout of pneumonia from which he died. Nanny Boswell and afterwards, Mamie, his sister's Scottish nurse, and Miss Easom, who ruled Dola's nursery with a rod of iron, the Chinese cooks, "Gong" and "Hoy" at Hatley, and, of course, Butler Packe and John Jamieson, the footman, all were important personalities to both Dola and Jimmy.

The author remembers being taken by his mother to visit the stern old lady who lived in Craigdarroch, but the feud between the James Dunsmuir family and old Mrs. Joan or "Lady" Dunsmuir, as she was sometimes called, had not really subsided at the time of her death in 1908. A sort of smouldering warfare was kept up by some of the daughters of Robert Dunsmuir and the family of their brother, James, but one who noticeably never engaged in any kind of bitterness or feud and who always was on the best of terms with the James Dunsmuirs was Maude Chaplin. In the author's view she was by far the nicest of his great-aunts. She was as pretty as she was sweet, and her husband, Captain Chaplin, was a very fine man, brilliant horseman, popular socialite and as loved by all he met as was his wife.

The Chaplin family lived in Vancouver for quite a time in the 1930's and were extremely popular members of society—playing polo and entertaining their friends in their beautiful home

at Point Grey. They were extremely popular in Leicestershire when they had a house at Market Harborough, and the Duke of Gloucester was a close friend of both the father, Colonel Chaplin of the Tenth Hussars, and his son Jacky who appears later in this story as a great friend of the author.

The time drew near when the James Dunsmuirs' term at Government House was drawing to an end. In fact, James was agitating long before to have the period cut short. He'd only taken it on much against his will and in every probability because his wife, Laura, had wanted it so much. She was a hostess to her very backbone, and loved entertaining and meeting people, and sought very hard to make her husband appear at social gatherings, which to him were the very bane of his existence.

He longed for the time to come when he would be able to get to his own country estate and take trips in his yacht far up the coastal waters of British Columbia where affairs of dominion and provincial urgency could in no way upset the even tenor of his existence.

For the Audain family, too, the huge wooden house on the Gorge was far too big. Even with the addition of the new baby, Laura, they were only four in family, and so Guy Audain acquired some acreage in the Pemberton Woods, and had the land cleared and started to build thereon. In 1911, "Ellora," named after the famous caves of Ellora near Aurungabad, India, was finished, and the Audain family moved in. In the same year the Dunsmuirs moved to Hatley.

The Hopes (Bessie Dunsmuir) divided their time between England and Vancouver while the Bromley family (Maye Dunsmuir) lived practically exclusively in England.

When the Dunsmuirs returned from their world cruise, Marion, Muriel, Kathleen, and Elinor all lived at Hatley for a time. This was the period that the younger daughters became known as the "Dunsmuir Kids," and were even spoken of this way by their elder sisters.

Dola was still in the nursery and graduating to the schoolroom,

when her playmate, Jimmy Audain, was shipped off much against his will to boarding school in England at an establishment known as Charters Towers, East Grinstead. It was not until considerably later that young Jimmy and his Aunt Dola were to see as much of each other as heretofore.

Chapter **16**

LIFE AT HATLEY

Life at Hatley Park for the James Dunsmuir family from the year 1911 till the outbreak of the first Great War was a very different affair from the cares and necessary entertaining at Government House.

For the Dunsmuirs this was their home and only their friends need be entertained—not the official guests required by Government and diplomatic necessities. But Mrs. James, always the very soul of hospitality as was natural to a lady from the Southern states, was ever ready to show her beautiful home to all comers.

This estate was truly a wonder park, with its Japanese and Italian gardens, its ornamental lakes stocked with trout and fish-ladder to the Esquimalt Lagoon; its home farm with pedigree cattle, and the stables housing fourteen hunters imported, regardless of expense, from England. The garages had four cars always ready serviced for instant work, besides the trucks used on the farm or to transport logs.

The management of this beautiful estate was given over to a steward, a Scot and ex-Rugger International named John Graham, who was a very loyal employee to the Dunsmuir family and who afterwards became a valued friend and trustee of Mrs. Dunsmuir's estate. Under Mr. Graham were four white gardeners and more than a hundred Chinese. These men had the task of keeping in good order the multitudinous lawns, shrubberies, greenhouses, and gardens.

For the Chinese labourers, Mr. Dunsmuir built a camp at a considerable distance from the house and away in a corner of the

wooded park; and there they could live their own life, cook their own food and in their community keep to their racial habits.

The kitchens at Hatley were in a separate wing of the big house and were in charge of Hoy, the Chinese cook and head man who remained fifty years in the service of the family and who ruled his kitchen boys and house boys with a rod of iron, employing the methods of "tong" discipline. Packe, the English butler, who had joined the Dunsmuirs at Government House, also had his suite of rooms in the kitchen wing.

The great hall was one of the beauties of Hatley. As the visitor alighted from his car, which had drawn up under the portcullis, he first entered the front doorway of this great hall, with ladies' cloakrooms to the right and gentlemen's to the left, the great log fireplace in front of him and a spacious staircase in carved oak on either side.

Immediately before the visitor were the main reception rooms —the great drawing room with its grand piano and wonderful and priceless furniture, the oaken panelled dining room to the left and the library (which in after years became Mrs. James' favourite sitting room) to the right.

Facing the front drive were the billiard room and the Persian room (a small sitting room done up in Eastern style) and at the far end of the corridor, James Dunsmuir's private quarters: his smoking room with its deep leather chairs, the gunroom where James once nearly frightened himself to death by firing a blast from a gun which he thought to be unloaded through the wall, and his own washroom and the corner where the fishing rods stood for those who wished to catch the trout in the Hatley lakes.

On the first floor were the main bedrooms, Mrs. Dunsmuir's own beautiful bedroom and boudoir (now the library of the Naval College) and the rooms for the Dunsmuir daughters, all facing out towards the Lagoon and the Olympic Mountains, some of the better guest rooms and at one end of the corridor exactly over the kitchen, Dola's day and night nursery, for when the family moved to Hatley the youngest daughter was only eight.

The second floor was given up to less sumptuous guest rooms and what was known as the "bachelors wing" where we grandchildren were usually stabled in the summer when we came out to visit our grandmother!

At the top of the Castle was laid out a full-sized ballroom which was very seldom used, as the dances were usually held in the downstairs drawing-room especially made over for those occasions. Also at the top of the winding stairs was the tower-room, with a picture of Mephistopheles which never failed to strike terror into the writer as a youngster when he visited the room in company with his child-aunt, Dola. They would run shrieking and screaming down the stairs and probably straight into the arms of James Dunsmuir waiting in a corner of the staircase to play their evening game of "bears."

James liked nothing better than these evening romps with the two children, his youngest daughter and his eldest grandchild; and wonderful and exciting were the games he thought of to amuse the children and incidentally his own particularly boyish sense of humour. James Dunsmuir, in his own home, was a sweet man, a really good family man, and a wonderful husband.

Although he left the management of his house and servants to his extremely capable wife, he was in no sense a "doormat," and at times his word was law even in household affairs.

The butler, William Packe, tells of an incident at Government House when his eldest daughter, Byrdie Audain, was dining there. The meat course had been served and its quality had not been, in Mr. Dunsmuir's opinion, up to the required standard.

"What did we pay for this meat, Laura?" he asked.

Mrs. James named a price, and the master of the house, then Lieutenant Governor, turned to his daughter: "Byrdie, where do you go for your meat?"

Mrs. Audain told him the name of her butcher and what she usually paid, a price which happened to be some cents cheaper. Mr. Dunsmuir turned again to the butler: "Packe, see that not another order is given to our former butcher, all meat from now on is to come from Mrs. Audain's butcher."

When he was in this sort of mood Mrs. James knew better than to cross him, and he would go off to his own private sanctum where no one who was not in his own immediate small circle of male friends would dare to encroach upon his privacy.

Besides the Littles, the Freemans, Captain Shenton (Captain of his yacht *Dolaura),* Dr. Wasson, his medical advisor and friend of old mining days, Major Guy Audain, and Mr. Burton—the latter both very keen sportsmen and his companions on many shooting trips on the yacht—James Dunsmuir eschewed society as much as he possibly could and was content to lead his own life, that of a country gentleman and landowner.

Another couple of anecdotes illustrate James' extreme caution in the smallest money transaction. Outside the Times Building, of which he was the owner, a paper boy one day sold him a newspaper as he was about to step into his car. Mrs. Dunsmuir was with him, and they were a few minutes late for a function which demanded their attendance. James handed the lad a dime and stood waiting while the boy fumbled for his change. His wife, leaning from the car, chided him impatiently: "What on earth are you waiting for, James, you've got your paper."

"I've got my paper all right," replied the millionaire, "but I'm waiting for my change. I've got a nickel to come."

But James Dunsmuir could not be called mean. At times his generosity was princely in its munificence. One story is related about a time they were entering the gates of Hatley driven by Maastrict, the family chauffeur. There was a collector at the gate who took entry fees as the grounds had been turned over for a day to some charity. Perhaps it was the I.O.D.E., one of Mrs. Dunsmuir's favourites. When the collector, not knowing the car belonged to the owner of Hatley Park, came forward with her box, Dunsmuir leaned out of the window. "Drive on, Maastrict, drive on," he said. On entering the house it is related that he went straight to his study and wrote out a cheque for $1,000 which he sent to the charity.

The writer remembers to this day his fourth birthday at "Burleith," when his grandfather entered his nursery and the young-

ster had just breakfasted with his Scottish nanny, Miss Boswell. James Dunsmuir held out four one-hundred-dollar bills to the small boy.

"A present for you, Jimmy," he said smiling. Nurse Boswell, seeing the denomination of the bills, gasped. But her astonishment turned to horror a moment later when the little boy advanced towards the fireplace saying: "What lovely paper, Grandpa. Let's make a nice fire."

James shook with laughter and said: "Sometimes I think that is all it's fit for, Nurse." However, we are left wondering if Nanny Boswell, good Scot that she was, entirely agreed with Mr. Dunsmuir's sentiments.

In money matters it would seem that James Dunsmuir either erred to extreme liberality or became decidedly "close," for in examining the treatment accorded to his two sons, he overdid matters by giving Robin unlimited drawing accounts in his younger days and tried to remedy this fault by cutting young Jim Dunsmuir decidedly short during his schooldays and early life in Montreal.

But where his daughters were concerned, he went about matters in the opposite fashion, giving his eldest daughter Byrdie a very modest allowance on her marriage, only to heap millions of dollars on the younger ones during their extravagant life on the Continent.

James Dunsmuir never touched a drop of alcoholic liquor until he was fifty years old. He had seen only too closely the havoc it had wrought in the life of his brother Alexander, and he held a healthy horror of what it might do to him.

In the days when it was practically an offence to refuse to drink with a stranger or casual acquaintance, James kept a strict formula for such occasions. When asked to have a drink he would invariably reply: "No, thanks, but I'll take a cigar." The offerer, however quarrelsome, could hardly take offence.

Pertaining to his employees, James had no use for the man who drank more than he could carry, and rarely gave him a second chance if he were unable to keep sober.

As has been said before he was a great family man and had an almost childish sense of humour. His happiest times seemed to be those spent in his nightly games of "bears and Indians" with his youngest daughter Dola and his grandson Jimmy Audain.

A visitor to the august precincts of Government House might have paused in his astonishment had he seen the Lieutenant Governor leap from behind some corner of the hall dressed in the great Polar bearskin which usually lay in dignified state before the open fireplace.

Mr. Dunsmuir had a great sense of punctuality and liked his meals and all his appointments absolutely "on the dot." The gong would be rung on the hour set apart for the meal to the exact second, and woe betide Butler Packe if he were late, for frequently Mr. Dunsmuir would be standing at the dining-room door, his watch open in his hand. If a visitor or a member of the household arrived late, he would usually be forced to forego the courses that had already been served.

THE YACHT DOLAURA

One of James Dunsmuir's most treasured possessions during the later part of his life was his beautiful and luxurious steam yacht *Dolaura* which he had built for him by Brown Bros. of the Clyde, Scotland. Any millionaire might well be proud to have possessed this lovely vessel, and when she finally left the family ownership, she was sold to a Drexel or a Vanderbilt capable of appreciating her charms.

During their first trip on the *Dolaura* the Dunsmuirs attended the opening of the Kiel Canal and the Kaiser came on board. Guy Audain acted as interpreter for his parents-in-law. This visit later served as a very bitter pill to Mr. and Mrs. Dunsmuir when they lost their boy on the *Lusitania*. From the time of the disaster to this day, the name of the Kaiser has been *verboten* in a Dunsmuir household!

The *Dolaura* proved to be a great source of pleasure to James

and, as he withdrew into his shell in later years, his trips alone in the yacht or with one other close friend in company with his commander, Captain Shenton, became more and more frequent.

But in the early days of her acquisition the *Dolaura* was the scene of many gay parties. The daughters were very keen to join their father on his trips up the coast of British Columbia, asking only that someone near their own age should be included among the male guests.

These hunting and fishing trips were very important events in the aging millionaire's routine, and among the most frequent guests on the cruises were Mr. Burton, Mr. Tommy Cecil, "Dib" Little and Guy Audain.

The *Dolaura* was a vast improvement over the *Thistle,* his former yacht, which had been burnt to the water's edge at the time of the coronation of King Edward VII. Her commander, Captain Bissett, was a good friend of the family and his son, Dr. G. W. C. Bissett lives today in the old Audain house at 550 Foul Bay Road.

James, no doubt, found that his trips into the secluded reaches of the British Columbia coastal waters took him away from his memories and all unhappy associations, and allowed him to speculate on the beauties of nature and the wonderful scenery of that coast.

While he was away on these trips during the first years at Hatley, the ladies of the Dunsmuir household, if they did not accompany the yachting party, occupied themselves in entertaining their friends of whom Brownie and Innis Bodwell, Norah Combe, Marguerite and Lucy Little were some of the most frequent visitors. Or they played golf at the Colwood Links which Dunsmuir had laid out to help keep his daughters at home and rode the string of horses that Mann, the head groom, always said were eating their heads off in the stables!

At the time the family first moved into Hatley the writer well remembers riding his pony, Brownie, out from his home on Foul Bay Road to his grandparents' home at Hatley Park. It was an eight-mile ride and along a country road that is now the Island

Highway. As he trotted quietly along, little did he think that the day would come when people would speed along that same route taking ten minutes to do what he was accomplishing in some two and a half hours!

He also remembers some of the mad gallops that the Dunsmuir girls would suddenly embark upon—Marion leading on Nigger, followed by Muriel on Dog Fox, then probably Jimmy on Brownie and Dola bringing up the rear on her little pony Beauty. They would all be screaming to each other and shouting at the tops of their voices with hair flying in the wind. Some of the sober inhabitants of Langford would say as they passed: "There go some of the Dunsmuir millions."

The years until the war commenced were not unhappy ones. The Dunsmuirs went on their long trip abroad in 1912 and even touched Egypt during their travels. Mr. Dunsmuir hired a *dhiabea* and went up the Nile with his whole party. Dola Wasson, wife of the family doctor, and quite a poetess composed a humourous poem about the millionaire and his family, his beautiful daughters and their hangers-on, and all that happened to them during their travels abroad. This time, instead of the Metropole, the Dunsmuir family occupied about half of the first floor of the Ritz Hotel, London.

On his return to Hatley in 1913 Mr. Dunsmuir spent considerable time improving his estate, enlarging the home farm, and making ready for the day in the future when the whole great project would be handed over to his son, "Boy" Dunsmuir, who promised to be just the opposite of the failure that the elder Robin had become.

Mrs. Dunsmuir interested herself in charities for the betterment of the community—the church, the hospitals, and I.O.D.E. were all more than grateful for the help and interest shown in their work by the chatelaine of Hatley Park. In this church work and in all laudable charitable projects she was ably seconded by her eldest daughter Byrdie Audain who was now living at "Ellora" on Foul Bay Road, but who kept very close contact with her aging father and mother at Hatley Park.

Contained in many references written in her letters of that time which are a prized possession of the writer is the fact that much as she would have liked to go over to England and establish a home during the boy's holidays for him to come to and bring his friends, she felt that she owed it to her father and mother not to move too far away during the closing years of her father's life.

After the death of his son "Boy" in the tragic *Lusitania* disaster he grew morose and talked to scarcely no one and shut himself up for long periods in his study.

If James had been a drinker now is the time that he would have given way to this crutch, but his fear of alcohol still persisted, and he never allowed himself to touch the bottle. Butler Packe always poured out his nightly modest "tot" and never a drop more did the master of Hatley take.

These long periods of melancholy were rapidly sending Dunsmuir into a decline, and while he was shut in his study he grew into the habit of playing over and over a record on his gramophone entitled, "Where, Oh Where, Is My Wandering Boy Tonight?" Mrs. Dunsmuir, fearing for his reason, annexed the record and hid it from her husband.

He still fished, however, and had acquired a little property along the Cowichan River with a fishing lodge to which he retired whenever he was able. He spent months up in this retreat either with one of his daughters for company or some faithful friend, and it was here that he died in June, 1920, a broken unhappy man whose dreams for an heir to all his millions had been rudely shattered on two separate and entirely different occasions.

Colonel Guy Audain, his son-in-law, returned after four years in the European theatre of war, and joined in some of James' last trips in 1919, after which the *Dolaura* was sold to a Chicago millionaire and James' only relaxation became his fishing trips to his summer home at Cowichan.

The writer has a letter written to him at school in April, 1920 saying that his father was staying at Hatley Park to look after

Mr. Dunsmuir while Mrs. James visited her eldest daughter, Byrdie Audain, at her home on Foul Bay Road.

Shortly after this Mr. Dunsmuir went up to Cowichan Lake with his daughter, Marion Stevenson and Dr. Hasell. Mrs. James and Muriel went over to Seattle to meet Dola, the youngest daughter, on her return from school in San Francisco.

The following is from the *Times,* June 8, 1920:

> Death summons noted resident. Hon. James Dunsmuir, son of the man whose name spelled history for Vancouver Island, succumbs after brief illness. Seized with a sudden illness on Saturday night while visiting at his summer home at Cowichan Lake, the Hon. James Dunsmuir, whose name is inseparably connected with the history of British Columbia, passed away at seven o'clock on Sunday morning in his sixty-ninth year.

The man who had landed as a baby in 1851 and had seen the Indians all around the stockade at Fort Rupert died a millionaire as his father had been before him, but he died a broken and sorrowful old man.

The *Colonist,* in an August, 1920 issue states:

> Dunsmuir estate inventory filed—late Lieutenant Governor left assets valued at $3,597,583.
>
> In accordance with the succession duty of British Columbia, a complete inventory of the estate of the late James Dunsmuir was filed by the family solicitor in the Supreme Court here today.
>
> The document sets out all the assets within and without British Columbia differentiating between real estate, moneys secured by mortgages, securities for money including life insurance and cash, book debts, promissory notes and bank and other stocks. The total value of the estate is given as $3,597,583 gross with debts and liabilities estimated at $265,066.

No mention is made in the inventory of the Canadian Northern Railway Debentures Stock referred to in the will of the late Mr. Dunsmuir, which was doubtless disposed of by him during his lifetime.

Reference is made to some of the stock, however, in an affidavit executed by Mrs. Dunsmuir, as having been transferred to the children in February last, the total sum mentioned being Sterling 764,719. 12. 4.

During his latter years as previously, James Dunsmuir had been a very generous supporter of charity:

In 1916 Dunsmuir gave $1000 for the further period of the war each calendar month.

On Trafalgar Day, 1915, he undertook to give to the Provincial Red X $500 for each month the war continued.

He also gave $50,000 to the Provincial Sanitarium for consumptives.

In fact, his donations to charity, anonymous and made public, during his lifetime totalled hundreds of thousands of dollars.

Chapter **17**

PARIS NIGHTS

It would not be in keeping with the true facts to omit from this tale the extraordinary life led by the young James Dunsmuir daughters in Paris in the 1920's.

It was certainly a gay one, and the author can recount from first-hand experience that the parties thrown and money spent by the younger daughters of the Canadian millionaire would be hard to exaggerate.

Muriel, who was first married to Captain Edward Molyneux, the well-known Paris dressmaker, has already had up to the time of writing three trial runs in the "matrimonial stakes," all of which ended in failure. Her first which took place in Paris in all likelihood gave her a taste for the gay carefree life of the Paris restaurants and night clubs, the racecourse, fashion shows, and all the extravaganza of the existence that is known to the idle rich.

When Muriel and her first husband found that they were temperamentally unsuited to each other, they parted on amicable terms and went their own way—Molyneux to climb to the topmost rung in the world of the couturier and Muriel to get as much vicarious pleasure as possible out of the million dollars or so set apart for her by her father, James Dunsmuir.

She was joined in this dizzy search for pleasure by another of her sisters, Marion, who had lost her husband, Colonel Percy Stevenson, in tragic circumstances after a very short married life. Thus, the young widow and the gay divorcee could together

seek to make the world go by helped along by a cascade of Canadian dollars poured out into the night life and among the demi-monde of Paris.

They each had sumptuous flats—Marion on the Avenue Montagne, an apartment originally belonging to the Grand Duke Dimitri, and Muriel in the neighbourhood of Auteuil. They each had motor cars and liveried chauffeurs, and each had a crowd of hangers-on and sharpies from the Steppes of Russia waiting to pour out their champagne and gather in their harvest of thousand-franc notes in the boites and night haunts of Montmartre and Montparnasse. It should be sufficient to describe a typical party attended by the author during one of his visits to Paris in the 1920's. He hastens to add that at this time he himself was a subaltern in a British cavalry regiment, and this venture into Paris night life took place during a period of leave from his regiment. Such an excuse was a welcome one for the Dunsmuir girls, who made the arrival of a visitor the signal for an even more riotous evening than usual in the night haunts of the French capital.

This particular night spot happened to be the "Caveau Caucasien." Like its fellows, the "Harem," the "Jardin de ma Soeur," the "Perroquet," and the "Scheherazade," the main theme song of their staff was *"les dollars et encore des dollars,"* the exploitation of rich Americans and Canadians being their very livelihood. Be it understood that most of the so-called Russian princes one met in Paris in the '20's were in truth farmers of possibly one hundred sheep in their own countries, and the so-called "countesses" were ladies of easy virtue from the purlieus of Warsaw or perhaps Sevastopol!

However, titles went by the board. After the fifth bottle of champagne it was "Moulie" and "Ivan" and "Minnie" and "Boris." A particularly assiduous blonde was doing her wheedling best to extort the last remaining sterling from the wallet of the author of this book.

Hour after hour passed and the mountain of empty magnums grew apace—the tips of the flower vendors grew larger and the

"presents" to the chef d'orchestre more munificent; the Russian singers sang dirge after dirge moaning for their lost homeland, and interspersed these with wild Cossack songs which called for a toast in vodka or champagne after every verse. The wine and heady music began to have its desired effect, and while the other patrons with more modest parties began to grow tired and take their departure, the crowd of hangers-on around the table occupied by the daughters of the Canadian millionaire grew thicker still. The sycophants whose demands had first begun in whining plaintive whispers now grew strident and more insistent. Truth to tell, the writer, young man that he was, can honestly remember little of the later stages of this Paris party. He'd had more than his quota of champagne and had lost all count of time.

It seemed to him however that the evening must have cost "the earth." No heed was paid to expense, and thousand-franc notes, which in the twenties possessed a certain value, were being distributed like confetti.

The entertainers in these boites had developed a fine art of extracting money from rich women. Flattery was their weapon and the vainer the woman and the more she drank, the more likely was she to emerge the poorer from an evening spent listening to these Slavonic charmers. The two daughters of the coal millionaire were gold mines to the employees of such places.

The morning after came, and as the sweeper of the "Caveau Caucasien" cleared up the mountains of confetti, paper streamers and other baubles from under the table, she spied something gleaming among the rubbish. Thinking possibly she had found a valuable jewel from the hair of some millionairess patron, the poor woman felt her pulse hammer madly at the thought of a reward, but her elation soon vanished for at a second glance she saw it was only a paste buckle she had seen on the shoe of "that blonde and buxom Natascha" whom the waiter Luigi had told her was only a poule from the streets of Istanbul!

Life was certainly a round of pleasure for the Dunsmuir girls in the Paris of the '20's. In the summer there was Deauville and golf at Le Touquet—in the winter Cannes and Monte Carlo. For

Marion and Muriel Dunsmuir in those early days the world was their oyster.

But the '20's had to come to the shattering climax of the financial crash and even a million dollars can't last forever, so gradually the "Dunsmuir Kids" drifted back to Victoria to the shelter of their mother's entourage.

Firstly however the tale of the sister dubbed "La riche Canadienne" by the personnel and croupiers of the gambling rooms at Monte Carlo, Nice, and Cannes must be brought to these pages.

Elinor, who was born between the three elder and more sedate daughters and the flighty, pleasure-loving "Dunsmuir Kids," was a pattern all of her own. Many would have said she should have been a man, and in truth Father James must have been heartily sick of the eternal answer from the midwife, "It's another daughter, Mr. Dunsmuir," by the time Elinor arrived. She had a brilliant brain, while in her dress and manners she was masculine in the extreme. Gambling in the casinos she wore above her short tailor-made skirt a man's black velvet smoking jacket. In the early twenties, this mode of dress was certainly striking, to say the least. Her hair was cut very short, and she chain-smoked cigarettes from a long holder.

Gambling was in her blood and the urge to wager was to her like the compulsion to drink in some of her relatives. As one who has frequently watched her would judge, she was a bad gambler. She never played with restraint or with any attention to calculation of the odds, but followed her losses with a reckless abandon that seemed almost madness. During her winning streaks she flung huge tips to croupiers, chasseurs, and casino employees that earned her many an ingratiating smile to her face and a contemptuously knowing sneer, as soon as her back was turned.

Daily and each evening she could be seen throwing away into the maw of the casino "cagnotte" the dollars that had been wrested from the rugged land in the Western Hemisphere.

It was natural that even the Dunsmuir dollars could not last too long at this pace and Elinor finally came down to her last

few francs. It was then she found she could not tear herself away from the fascination of the play that to her had become a vice. Cables flashed across the ocean to British Columbia, begging, beseeching, cajoling, threatening, and money poured in to follow the rest into the coffers of the casino.

Truly it was a case of *"On perd sur rouge ou on perd sur noire, mais Leblanc gagne toujours."* One loses on red, one loses on black but M. Leblanc (casino proprietor) always wins.

Some of the cables threatened suicide and others dire consequences if her pleadings were not answered. Sometimes she said prison was about to close upon her, but always the demands were there for more and more money. Her mother paid up, then one of her sisters, then another, and finally Admiral Bromley, her brother-in-law, was asked to go down and see what he could do. In the end he managed to prevail. She was shipped home to British Columbia a poorer and perhaps a wiser woman.

Chapter **18**

HATLEY AFTER JAMES DUNSMUIR'S DEATH

Mrs. James bore the loss of her beloved husband with great courage. Her church and her daughters were of great assistance to her during this time of stress and sorrow. She had shared a very full life with James, her husband, for forty-four long years from the time he had brought her back as a young bride from North Carolina to the wild surroundings and Spartan life of the little coal town on Vancouver Island, called Nanaimo.

Possibly she had not quite such a rugged early life as that fine old pioneer lady, her mother-in-law Joan, for the Dunsmuirs had found the Wellington Mine and were well set to make their fortune when she returned to Nanaimo as a bride. But wealthy or poor, all had to work in the early days of Nanaimo and she too knew what it was to do her own washing, and as for the task of bringing up babies she must have rated as a professional.

As a hostess she was qualified to be in the top flight anywhere in the world and equally at "Burleith," at Government House, and finally at Hatley. Her charm and tremendous gift for hospitality were world famous. History chronicles that she entertained many of the world's premier celebrities. Crowned heads and emperors, bishops and vice-regal parties, great political figures and noted actors and actresses all came to Mrs. Dunsmuir and sampled her charm and hospitality and left singing her praises as one of the world's foremost hostesses.

On two occasions, Edward, Prince of Wales, was a visitor to Hatley and just as any other visitor he was completely taken with

his hostess' charm of manner, so much so that he told his aide, Bruce Ogilvy, later Lord Airlie, that great deference must be observed for Mrs. Dunsmuir's known antipathy to overindulgence in strong drink. So orders were issued to Butler Packe that a bottle of whiskey was to be brought up the back stairs with two siphons of soda and in great secrecy to the quarters of the Royal Prince. But he need not have bothered, for Mrs. Dunsmuir was not a fanatic, and champagne flowed freely at the dance that night. The only thing the old lady could not stand was drinkers who abused the privilege and drank themselves into a state of intoxication, for she knew where such behaviour had got her eldest son and her brother-in-law Alec Dunsmuir.

Although James Dunsmuir had distributed a vast part of his immense fortune a few years before his death, and his will provided, from a conservative point of view, a large number of bequests, Mrs. Dunsmuir was still a rich woman and could afford to keep up Hatley in the best traditional style. She called in the steward, Mr. Graham, and together they planned certain economies, but these did not in any way detract from the look of the grounds as she knew her husband would have wished her to keep up the place in as good a condition as possible.

Her family gradually drifted back from Europe and either built near her or made their home in the spacious castle with their mother.

Muriel came back, this time as Mrs. "Tolly" Wingfield, married to an Englishman who had worked for some years for one of the largest bookmakers in the country. "Tolly" was a bon viveur and an excellent raconteur when intelligible, and many were the amusing incidents told of his antics when he had had one over the eight! Mrs. Dunsmuir had a merry wit and in reality possessed a sneaking admiration for a man who had "a bit of red blood in his veins." It was often as good as a play to watch the efforts of "Tolly" Wingfield to persuade his mother-in-law that he was as sober as any judge. Muriel, too, was rather amusing in the reason she gave for her marriage to the good gentleman for

she replied when queried on the subject, "Well, I guess I just had to have someone to walk into a restaurant behind me when I wanted to go out to dinner!"

In 1932 Muriel Wingfield built a beautiful home overlooking Esquimalt Harbour and not very far from the gates of Hatley Park. She called it, for some reason known only to herself, "Journey's End." The property is now sold to the Government and Muriel has had many journeys since then.

Elinor, referred to in these pages as Monte Carlo's "Riche Canadienne" also retired to a more peaceable life when she returned to her mother's mansion. She interested herself in golf, in the management of her mother's estate and certain affairs which in all probability would have fallen to the lot of the son, had there been one at Hatley.

Mrs. Selden Humphreys (Kathleen Dunsmuir) had married young at the time of the first war to Major Selden Humphreys who was an officer in the R.A.S.C. Kathleen had gone over to England early in the war and had financed herself and managed the first soup kitchen which went to France. She was a brilliant organizer and an untiring worker. Her efforts for the Canadian troops in the second war at the Beaver Club and with her Canteen at Aldershot, Farnborough, and Camp Borden will be remembered by many thousands of Canadians who went overseas.

In the 1920's and the early thirties Kathleen lived in Victoria. She had a house named "Westover" which belonged to her mother. It overlooked Rockland Avenue. Her husband, Major Humphreys, was A.D.C. to successive Lieutenant Governors, and a pillar of the Union Club.

Kathleen, like her mother, was a brilliant hostess and her parties in Victoria were among the best ever given. She was often aided in planning these brilliant affairs by perhaps the best party planner of them all, Miss Ruth MaClane, who is now Social Secretary to Mrs. Wallace, the wife of the Lieutenant Governor of British Columbia, Hon. Clarence Wallace.

The author remembers one particular fancy dress party given

by his Aunt Kathleen at Westover in his honour. He was at the time visiting Victoria on summer leave from the Crack Cavalry Regiment in England, of which he was a member. It was in September, 1929, and it is surprising to think that anyone was in the position to give a party at that momentous time in the history of the financial world, but Kathleen was little daunted. Her motto was: "Let's dance and be merry for tomorrow is another day." And it is well to remember when reading of her sudden and tragic end that it is perhaps the way she would have most wished it.

This particular fancy dress party was a tremendous success, and the writer best remembers such attractive costumes as Miss Margot Homer Dixon, Mrs. "Bunny" McGiverin, and the skit he and "Tolly" Wingfield did of a bookmaker and his clerk at Epsom Downs.

In 1932 the writer was sent by his grandmother to represent the family at the unveiling of a portrait of her husband at Ladysmith. The following is from the *Colonist,* January 30, 1932:

> Picture honours memory of Ladysmith's founder. Portrait of Hon. James Dunsmuir unveiled by Native Sons of British Columbia. Occasion marks opening of new Post Headquarters.

The following is a report from Ladysmith, January 29th:

> This once thriving centre of the coal industry tonight did honour to the memory of its founder, when in officially opening its new home Post No. 7; Native Sons of British Columbia unveiled a picture of the Hon. James Dunsmuir, whose initiative and enterprise created the town and maintained it for many years as a prosperous and progressive city.
>
> Officials of the Order and old-time residents of Ladysmith joined in eulogizing the former colliery operator, and recalled many instances of his thoughtfulness and generosity.
>
> They recalled "Jim" Dunsmuir as a lad among them, and had watched him grow into manhood to succeed his father

in control of the mines and railway that had developed under the guidance of the older man. . . .

Little stories were told too—stories of a personal nature—of how "Jim" Dunsmuir, even when he carried the responsibilities of Premiership or wore the gold-laced uniform of the Lieutenant Governorship, was always ready to greet or chat with the men who worked in the mines.

Ladysmith was founded by Hon. James Dunsmuir. He planned the townsite, named the community and its streets, which commemorated the generals who commanded units in the South African War.

In the days that followed, while the Dunsmuir interests remained in control of the E & N Railway and the mines, Ladysmith prospered.

It was a happy place in which to live. Then the Railway was disposed of, but still the mines remained under the control of Mr. Dunsmuir, and the prosperity of the city continued.

Then some twenty years ago, the coal operations were sold to a company, and the personal proprietorship of the pits ended. Ladysmith has never been the same. There followed a disastrous strike, and from that time on the city never regained its old-time prosperity. . . .

Native Sons of British Columbia in Ladysmith is a vigorous organization. They realize there are natural resources other than coal deposits in the vicinity. They appreciate the scenic advantages and opportunities for development of the tourist trade that the location offers, and they are seeking to draw attention to these values.

The picture was unveiled by Joseph Malpass, who was a schoolmate of Hon. James Dunsmuir; W. W. Walkem introduced Mr. Malpass, and in a lengthy address told of the activities of the subject of the picture.

James P. Audain, a grandson of the Hon. James Dunsmuir, replied on behalf of the Dunsmuir family.

John Bennett of Nanaimo, grand factor of the order, and

Victor B. Harrison of Nanaimo, grand secretary, delivered inspirational messages in brief addresses. B. A. McKelvie, of Victoria, past grand factor, praised the spirit of the people of Ladysmith and of the local post in fostering and maintaining the pioneer objectives.

The stockmarket slump of '29 and '30, although it considerably curtailed certain types of business in Canada, did not have anything like the devastating influence on personal living as it did in the United States.

Unemployment certainly showed an increase and people could not pick and choose their jobs, but entertaining still went on in Victoria and Vancouver. In the latter city some of the wealthier citizens were members of a polo club.

Colonel "Reggie" Chaplin, the husband of Maude Dunsmuir, was one of the most prominent members of this Vancouver Polo Club, and it was with great pleasure and appreciation that the writer received the loan of his ponies in the summer of 1932.

He was living at Hatley Park with his sister, Laura, and Mrs. Dunsmuir had turned the "Old Stables" into a flat for the Audain brother and sister, for she had been particularly kind to the pair since the death of their mother, her eldest daughter Byrdie, in Pau in 1925.

Several matches were played against the American visiting teams from Seattle and Fort Lewes, and the Vancouver team had consisted of Clarence Wallace (now Lieutenant Governor of British Columbia), Hon. Eric Hamber, well-known Vancouver millionaire, "Bimbo" Sweeny, an equally well-known Vancouver character, and James Audain, playing on Colonel Chaplin's ponies. Later, a tour of Washington took place, visiting and playing matches in Seattle, Tacoma, and Fort Lewes. Fast and furious was the polo, and extremely gay and glittering the parties that went with it.

Mrs. Dunsmuir had given up any attempts at entertaining by this time. She had grown old and was an invalid. A lift had been installed at Hatley for she found it difficult to climb the stairs,

and except for an occasional visitor, no one outside the family entered the castle.

Some of the last visitors who were shown over the garden included Violet Vanbrugh and Cyril Maude.

Mrs. Dunsmuir died on the anniversary of the outbreak of the first world war, August 2nd, and the *Province* of August 4, 1937 wrote:

> Funeral arrangements for Mrs. Dunsmuir, 80, for more than 50 years one of Victoria's great social and political hostesses, will be held on Thursday afternoon. Mrs. Dunsmuir died Tuesday after a long illness.
>
> The funeral cortège will proceed from Hatley Park, the Dunsmuir estate. Dean C. S. Quainton will officiate at the cathedral service.
>
> Burial will be in the family plot in Ross Bay Cemetery. Few names have loomed more prominent in the history of British Columbia than that of the Dunsmuirs. British Columbia's first great family fortune was founded by Mrs. Dunsmuir's father-in-law, Robert Dunsmuir, a humble Scottish miner whose discovery of the Wellington Coal seam, combined with native shrewdness, made him the wealthiest man in the province.
>
> His son James inherited this fortune, and under skillful management increased it to huge proportions. In 1901 he became Premier of the province and from 1906–1909 he was Lieutenant Governor.
>
> It was during these years that Mrs. Dunsmuir became renowned as a great hostess. Her wealth combined with her political position made her the social arbiter of the province. In 1909 her husband built the vast mansion known as Hatley Park, one of the show places of Victoria.
>
> Previous to that the family home had been Craigdarroch, known locally as Dunsmuir Castle. It is now Victoria College. . . .
>
> The life of Mrs. Dunsmuir was saddened by many tragic

events, chief of which was the death of her son in the sinking of the *Lusitania*. He was the last male heir of the Dunsmuir line.

James Dunsmuir died suddenly in 1920, and since then his widow has lived quietly at Hatley Park. She is survived by seven daughters, most of whom live abroad.

The following is also from the *Province:*

The death of Mrs. Laura Dunsmuir, at the age of 80, severs one of the few links between the modern times of British Columbia and its beginnings.

Her association with the province went back a long way. It is 61 years since she married James Dunsmuir, second of his line on these shores, the Vancouver Island coal master who became Premier of the province and Lieutenant Governor.

Between her coming to the Island and her death yesterday almost the whole development of the Pacific slope of Canada was comprehended.

The mistress of Hatley Park, that curious baronial house and estate of many hundred acres outside Victoria which was the memorial of the Dunsmuir family on the heraldic side, was eminent in her own right, kindhearted, a benefactor of many people, and a supporter of many causes.

But she bore the name of Dunsmuir, beginning with the impoverished Scots coal master, Robert Dunsmuir, who did not disdain to seek the recovery of his fortunes with his pick at the pit face, vies with the contemporary romance of the Cariboo gold miners. And the Dunsmuirs took more wealth out of the coal measures of Wellington than any gold digger ever took out of the West! The old-timers in Nanaimo can still tell you of those booming times when the colliers of Departure Bay loaded their 1500 tons of Dunsmuir coal every day.

The following is from the *News Herald* August 4, 1937:

Mrs. Dunsmuir brought to the high positions, which the great wealth of the family enabled the second generation of the Dunsmuirs to hold, a typical Southern spirit of hospitality and good humour, which in spite of many domestic troubles never left her. She was known as a generous donor to many funds, and also subscribed anonymously to many charitable enterprises.

The magnificent home at Hatley Park was the scene of many hospitable gatherings, while among the invited guests during her long occupancy were names famous in the annals of the Empire. At Government House she was the ideal chatelaine, and while Mr. Dunsmuir often found it difficult to fulfil the many claims on his time owing to a natural diffidence, Mrs. Dunsmuir never missed an opportunity to make the best of her undoubted talents.

It may safely be said at the turn of the century nothing of real importance was done in the province without Mrs. Dunsmuir or her husband being first consulted.

Chapter **19**

DOLA DUNSMUIR

The story of the youngest Dunsmuir daughter, Dola Cavendish as she now is, belongs again almost to a different generation than that of her sisters.

She was, as has before been mentioned, brought up with the author who is the eldest grandchild of James Dunsmuir, and a great-grandchild of Dola's grandfather Robert.

When Mrs. James and her eldest daughter Byrdie were both nearing motherhood—one in Victoria, B.C., and one in Bournemouth, England—they must have frequently been anxiously wondering how the other was faring so far away across the seas, as their time drew nearer. For the Dunsmuirs the answer came in the shape of another daughter and for Byrdie Audain, a son.

The two youngsters had great games together as playmates in "Burleith" and Government House, and from 1905 till 1912 were seldom separated for more than a few months. Their relationship was much more that of brother and sister than aunt and nephew. Strangely enough, the aunt was the younger by about three months.

As infancy grew to childhood and then adolescence, partings became more frequent, but the deep affection that had started in nursery days always remained with the grandson of the Dunsmuirs, while for her part his aunt evinced a love and interest in his welfare demonstrated by many helpful and generous acts.

Miss Easom, Dola's nanny and later nursery governess, was a

great influence in her early days. She was a strict disciplinarian and Dola was an obedient little girl.

While the remainder of the family regarded the latest arrival with a certain disinterested tolerance, her father James Dunsmuir held for his youngest chick a deep love which caused him to spoil her tremendously.

Mrs. James, on the other hand, did not view this latest arrival with quite so much enthusiasm. She did not fit in, and being half a generation younger than her brothers and sisters necessitated a special nursery regime for her sole benefit, her sisters having by now graduated to the status of "young ladies." However, money being no object with the Dunsmuirs, at Hatley as at Government House a separate nursery suite was set apart for Dola's entire use, complete with nursery governess and all other trappings of the schoolroom.

Later Dola went to St. Margaret's School in Victoria, and then to a fashionable school in California with Ruth McBride, Sir Richard McBride's daughter. To finish off her education she was sent to Mlle. Ozanne's smart finishing school in Paris, an establishment that later took charge of her two nieces, Laura Audain and Victoria Bromley.

All through this period of schooling, Jimmy, her former playmate, had himself progressed through preparatory school in England, first Wellington and then R.M.C. Sandhurst, and finally into a crack British cavalry regiment quartered at that time in Edinburgh.

When the two had grown old enough to realise that the childish dream they had hatched in nursery days of "getting married and going to India" was strictly against the rules as laid down in their prayer book, the young aunt and nephew decided that this fact should in no way lessen their affection for one another and determined to keep in as close touch as possible. So, in the early days of the introduction of the youngest of the Dunsmuir heiresses to London society, it was frequently the young cavalry officer from Edinburgh who was to be found escorting her.

Dola possessed one all-consuming passion and that was her love

for the stage and all things theatrical. The people who stood beyond the footlights and the sparkle and glitter that went with their life was for her the very breath of existence!

Therefore, at this time in her life, much as her mother and the more socially ambitious of her sisters sought to interest her in the young men who, given any encouragement would have flocked round this latest heiress from the West, Dola used to sneak off with some "crony" and visit a play or revue in which her latest idol was currently featured.

By far the most potent force in Dola's life at this time was the famous American actress Tallulah Bankhead, then idol of theatre-going London and worshipped by her own special multitude of gallery girls and young university students.

The author was instrumental in bringing about one of Dola's earliest rendezvous with the famous Tallulah. They had gone to see one of her very early plays—possibly it was *Fallen Angels*—and, after a fruitless search for Tallulah in her dressing room, they had at last traced her to a Soho haunt then very much in vogue with the Bohemian set, the "Eiffel Tower," which was owned and managed by a Viennese, who was quite a character, named Stulik. Among his clients he numbered Augustus John, Chaliapin, Gloria Swanson, Frances Doble, and several royal princes who enjoyed the informal atmosphere of his after-theatre suppers.

The two young people on this particular evening, feeling very daring, for this was the time of D.O.R.A. and raids on night clubs, stood for a moment after the taxi had stopped outside the rather mysterious closed door with its exciting-looking peephole, and listened to the laughter and voices from within. Then Jimmy knocked at the door.

After some moments, during which all noise ceased behind the lighted but heavily curtained restaurant windows, the "spy-hole" slid open and an enquiring eye appeared, summing them up, while a still more enquiring voice demanded in a guttural, foreign accent: "For whom do you seek?"

On the somewhat hesitant reply that the two young people

merely desired to speak for a moment with Miss Bankhead, the peephole slid shut and the eye disappeared. After a few minutes' wait the optic reappeared together with the information that Miss Bankhead was busy.

However, the young cavalry officer was not to be deterred and he insisted that it was the desire of Miss Dola Dunsmuir to see Miss Bankhead for a moment only—if it were at all possible. Again the peephole slid shut and the footsteps went away. This time the wait was longer, but finally the door was opened a crack and a waiter appeared and motioned to the young man.

"Miss Bankhead regrets very much that her party is rather a rowdy one and she does not think Miss Dunsmuir would feel at her ease, so she asks that Miss Dunsmuir call round at her dressing-room after the performance on the morrow, and hopes that on that occasion Miss Dunsmuir will join her party."

The two young people, with the main objective of their evening wasted, took themselves off to another spot where there was a gala performance, but not behind closed doors.

In the light of the great friendship that later sprung up and has lasted until this date between Tallulah and Dola Dunsmuir, the care taken by the actress for the young girl's reputation was quite noticeable. It was as well, for at this time Dola was a shy young girl. She had a sweet nature and would have made a splendid mother. She cherished an incurable passion for lame dogs of every breed and kind, and many were the people she helped and befriended in her generosity when they were sorely in need of such friendship and sustaining aid.

Dola's penchant for the theatrical set brought her in touch with many celebrities. Among her friends were Dorothy Dickson, Gwen Farrar, Gertrude Lawrence, Mary Robson, and many others whose names in bright lights graced the theatre fronts of Shaftesbury Avenue and Broadway.

Her mother's efforts to interest her in London society met with scant success, and although her sister, Lady Bromley (then Mrs. Bromley, wife of the admiral of that name well known in court circles), gave several parties for her, she much preferred her

theatrical friends and week ends at the country homes of close friends such as the Duveen family.

One particular London season stands out in the author's memory—1927, the year Call Boy won the Derby, and Dola had taken a party to Epsom to view the race from the top of a London double-decker bus.

With her on the summit of this make-shift grandstand she had one or two Canadian guests who were viewing the spectacle for the first time, and they were loud in their exclamations of wonder at the unconventional Epsom crowd. This writer, whose party of four inveterate race-goers knew every horse and every jockey appearing on Epsom Downs, was highly amused at the originality of their remarks.

Mrs. James Dunsmuir had come over from Canada and taken a house in Berkeley Square for the summer season. She gave a large dance for her daughter Dola jointly with her two granddaughters Victoria Bromley and Laura Audain who had that year been presented at Buckingham Palace. Mrs. Bromley acted as hostess for her mother although Mrs. James was present for some of the time and seemed to join in the festivities with considerable ardour, for Laura Dunsmuir had always enjoyed a party.

Frequently she used to say to her grandson, "Jimmy, why can't the young people of today enjoy a party as they should? They have to have wine, and spirits, and cocktails and then some don't really enjoy themselves; while in my young days we used to dance till four in the morning with nothing stronger than a cup of coffee."

This "launching" into society did not greatly interest Dola, and she soon tired of her efforts to please her anxious mother and returned to her theatrical friends, leaving the debutantes and second and third season society girls to their own devices.

Three years previously Mrs. James had come over to Europe and in late 1924 had paid a visit to her eldest daughter, Byrdie Audain, then living the life of an invalid in Pau, in southern France.

Here, mother and daughter spent six pleasant weeks, and they must have frequently discussed old associations and the days at Nanaimo and Departure Bay, during which Mrs. Jim had been so busy producing babies, and Byrdie had acted as extra nursemaid.

As it turned out this was the happiest time in Byrdie's last few years. She died suddenly on January 29, 1925, when still a comparatively young woman of forty-six.

Life was very sad for her two children at this time. Particularly did Laura feel the loss of her beloved mother for she had seldom been parted from her during her sixteen years of life. However, a clean break was deemed advisable and Laura was sent to school at Ozanne's famous finishing establishment in Paris. Jimmy returned to his regiment at Edinburgh.

All through these years Hatley Park still remained the seat of the Dunsmuir family. As Mrs. James grew older, she sought more and more to gather her clan around her and keep an eye on their exploits and exert her influence for their good.

Elinor came back to Hatley Park on her return from Europe. She was credited with a versatile brain, and on one occasion when in New York and in consultation with Noel Coward is reputed to have contributed some of the music to his brilliant *Bitter Sweet.*

Muriel Wingfield returned to Hatley and in 1932 built "Journey's End" close by, a beautiful home overlooking Esquimalt Harbour. This, like Hatley Park, is now owned by the Government. Her husband of that period, Captain "Tolly" Wingfield, retired with a sigh from the difficulties of "trying to pull the wool" over his mother-in-law's eyes as to the number of drinks he had consumed or was about to consume and contented himself with some steady drinking under his wife's roof.

"Bon viveur" that he was, Tolly was excellent company and a gentleman.

But to return to Dola, several times there had been reports of her intended marriage, but finally she became engaged to a certain Commander Cavendish, commonly known as "Dish," a good

fellow whose passion was the Turf and who now has the job Tolly Wingfield once had as manager of Ladbrooke & Co., one of London's largest bookmaking firms.

"Ardy" Bendir (Ladbrooke) was a friend of the family as was his beautiful wife Margot, who had at one time graced the Gaiety Theatre with Gertie Millar (Lady Dudley). Both were frequently seen in the company of one or other of the Dunsmuir girls in Paris or Le Touquet.

Dola Dunsmuir and Commander "Dish" Cavendish had a magnificent wedding from Hatley Park. The cortège, headed by two motorcycle policemen, with "blaring klaxtons," immediately followed by Sergeant Bob Owens (deputy head of British Columbia Police), in his police car immediately preceding the bridal car, screamed down the road from Hatley to the cathedral, in a procession that for many months afterwards was the talk of Victoria.

"Dish" retired from the Navy after his marriage and settled down to married life on shore, whenever possible getting in a day at the nearest racecourse to wherever he happened to be. The couple moved to London and lived first at Pavilion Lodge, Cadogan Square and then at Albert Gate, Regents Park.

But "Dish" and Dola did not really hit it off and they parted on amicable terms, Dish returning to his beloved bookmaking and Dola back to her theatrical friends.

Early in 1942 Dola built a house just outside the grounds of Hatley Park on a piece of property her father had left to her. She called it "Dolaura" after the yacht, and she still owns it today, the last piece of the family estate to remain in Dunsmuir hands. For three years, from 1947 until 1950, she was kind enough to let it to the author, her playmate of nursery days. Often he used to go down to the "big rock" which overlooks the lagoon and is covered with sinister-looking arbutus trees, and think of the day when as a youngster he had fallen in from its summit, and Dola had stood screaming and crying for fear he would be drowned.

The youngest of the Dunsmuir daughters seldom comes to Victoria. She lives chiefly in New York, where naturally she spends most of her time with her friends of the theatre.

For many months she took the position of secretary to her life-long friend Tallulah Bankhead. Even now, if she is not to be reached at her Park Avenue flat, it is a safe gamble that she is at "Windows," the country home of her famous actress friend.

Kathleen Dunsmuir, the third member of the "Dunsmuir Kids," is separated from her two pleasure-loving sisters Marion and Muriel, not because she too did not love parties and festivity (maybe she was the best party giver of the whole family), but mainly because she had a family of youngsters to bring up and she could not go along with her two elder sisters in their hectic quest for new thrills in Paris and elsewhere.

Quite a portion of her life was spent in Victoria where her children attended school and have since married British Columbians, while her husband, Major Selden Humphreys D.S.O., acted for many years in the capacity of A.D.C. to successive Lieutenant Governors—a post that Colonel Guy Audain had occupied during his father-in-law's governancy.

Kathleen studied in Germany and came back to Victoria, the youngest of the trio to be thoroughly spoiled by eldest sister Byrdie. Marion and Muriel were the objectives of considerable disciplinary action on the part of their eldest sister. For this reason in later life the two elder of the "Dunsmuir Kids" did not bear Byrdie Audain any particular good will. Kathleen, on the other hand, an adorably pretty little girl with long flaxen curls, was petted and spoiled by all.

At the time of the first war Kathleen rushed to do her part for her country. As she was a tremendous worker and organizer this was no mean task. She took one of the first soup-kitchens to France and was commended by Royalty for her valuable war services. It was at this time that she married Selden Humphreys, a major in the R.A.S.C.

Back from the war and once again settled in Victoria she threw herself into the social life of the city with a vengeance. Kathleen's parties were famous; no trouble or expense was spared to make them successful.

Victorians who crowded in her various houses from dusk till dawn—among them Molly and Carew Martin, Tina Mowbray (afterwards Mrs. Justice Wood), Brownie Bodwell (now Hon. Mrs. Fellows), Innis Bodwell, Tillie Fordham Johnson, Ruth McLean, Bunny Hobday and Daphne "Bimbo" Sweeny, Peggy and McGregor McIntosh and Ruth Carmichael. All these can look back on Kathleen's parties on Beach Drive and at Westover with wonderful memories.

Kathleen's mother used to worry considerably about the wild spending orgies her daughter used to indulge in from time to time. People knew how lavish she was in her entertainment and trespassed greatly on her generosity and good nature. Frequently Mrs. Dunsmuir would summon her to her presence and counsel and lecture her to try and curb this extravagance, but Kathleen was a born entertainer and hostess and while in the full course of her flight into hospitality, would little count the cost of the morrow.

When the second world war came she had already divorced her husband and, with her nearly grown family, she sailed for England to see how she might help the total war effort. For the first weeks she lived in a London flat but when the Canadians came overseas she went to live at Farnborough and ran a travelling canteen for the Canadian soldiers there and at Aldershot. Many a time a lonely boy from Vancouver or Victoria was warmed and cheered to see one of the familiar Dunsmuir faces as she handed him a bun and poured him a cup of tea. She also helped considerably in Mr. McAdam's Beaver Club Canteen for Canadian soldiers in London.

Her end came suddenly and tragically in the well-remembered air raid on London in March, 1941, when the Café de Paris on Coventry Street, one of London's foremost night spots, was razed to the dust.

It was during a party to celebrate her son's engagement to a glamourous London model named Joan Griffiths when Hitler's 250-pound bomb crashed down from the skies and ended the

lives of Kathleen Dunsmuir and some eighty other peaceful citizens who were dining and dancing to the tunes of a coloured orchestra, so well known to wartime Londoners.

At the party were present Bessie Hope, her sister, and Bessie's son, Sandy, a lieutenant in the Tenth Hussars, Jim Humphreys and his fiancée, and Kathleen. The survivors tell that Kathleen was just in the act of rising to go on the dance floor as the bomb fell. She was blown to pieces as were many others in that hall, together with all six of the band who were nearest the point of impact.

The others had miraculous escapes. Bessie suffered from shock and some glass splinters in her back, Sandy Hope suffered a concussion, Jim Humphreys had a nasty head wound which caused the permanent imposition of "grounding" in his flying career for the rest of the war. Joan, a very beautiful girl, had an ugly gash across her forehead which has been wonderfully hidden by the skill of modern surgery.

So it was that Kathleen became the second of the James Dunsmuir children to die a violent death at the hands of the enemy, not as her brother "Boy" as he glided across the ocean unwittingly in a vast liner, but as she was joyously celebrating the coming happiness of her son in a gay party. Maybe, however, for Kathleen, the vivid party lover, it would be as she had wished it best, for to her a lingering malady would have been unbearable and to grow old might have been more than tedious.

She was cremated at Golders Green and Mr. McAdam, Agent General at B.C. House, represented the Government at this Dunsmuir funeral. Her ashes were later taken to Victoria and interred in the family plot at Ross Bay Cemetery.

When the king-pin holding a family together is removed, it is natural that the family should tend to fall apart. In this case, Mrs. James was the "queen-pin" of the Dunsmuir family for almost half a century. True, in the earlier part of her rising ascendancy she had been forced to content herself with her mother-in-law's strongly dominant personality in Craigdarroch,

but she and James finally won out in the will case and from that time onwards Laura Dunsmuir could have been said to have been the power behind the throne in British Columbia.

This little lady from the Southern states was a skilled diplomat, and her word was law to her husband and her family although at times many of them murmured against her rulings. But ultimately she held the purse strings and her daughters, unruly though some proved to be, usually had in the end to accede to her wishes.

Naturally she was the more forceful driving power behind Dunsmuir policy than her peace-loving husband. Only in rare moments was he moved to act, and all the general policies and plans were drawn up and many executed by Mrs. James.

This grandson grew to know and love her in her old age. Many evenings during the early thirties he used to spend with her sitting in the library which was her favourite room at Hatley Park. They would discuss all manner of topics while Elinor listened and played her patience.

Mrs. James was very fond of the male sex. She'd had so many daughters around her that such surfeit had made her almost intolerant of her own sex and at the games of "500" in the evening, she insisted on choosing a male as her partner. And woe betide that man if he did not win!

Even excluding Elinor's known flights into the topmost strata of the continental gambling milieus, the Dunsmuirs, from Robert downwards, had always been fond of cards. Mrs. James played only for "love," but Robert often liked his stakes to be high.

It is said that once he lost the Victoria Theatre in a hand of poker to Sam Boscowitz when the latter dared him to make the stakes worthwhile during a run of bad luck!

But to get back to the lot of the Dunsmuir family after the death of Mrs. James. Elinor, who was living in her house at Comox, and Muriel, at "Journey's End," were hastily summoned to her bedside. Kathleen, at that time living at Hatley, was at her mother's side right up to the end.

It is strange to note that as death summoned the wife of this

noted member of the second generation of Dunsmuirs, a fifth generation was entering the world at the same place where his father had been born, Bournemouth, England, just forty-eight hours before Mrs. James had breathed her last.

Michael Audain, son of the author, represents the fifth generation of Dunsmuirs to reside on Vancouver Island in the hundred years from Robert's arrival until the present time.

Mrs. Dunsmuir had established a trust in the hands of the Royal Trust Company and her faithful estate manager, Mr. John Graham, and two of her daughters living in British Columbia were also on the board.

She had given a great deal of money to the church and to charity during her lifetime, not the least of which was a donation of $100,000 toward the building of Christ Church Cathedral in Victoria.

The remainder of her estate she left to her children and in cases where they had predeceased her, her grandchildren.

The eldest daughter Byrdie had died at Pau in 1925. Bessie was living in England where her eldest son had married and settled down as did her second son, Alexander.

The Bromleys have for many years been prominent figures at the Court of St. James and Admiral Sir Arthur Bromley K.C.M.G. was, after the Earl Marshall the Duke of Norfolk, one of the officials most responsible for the smooth running of the coronation of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.

Marion Stevenson died in Monte Carlo in 1952 and Elinor, soon after her mother, in 1938.

Muriel, now bound for Paris, has reverted to the name of Dunsmuir after a series of marriages, one ending in widowhood and two in divorce. Her last husband is now married to a Mrs. Lillian Pollock who in her earlier days graced the London stage.

Kathleen, as we have read, died in a bombing raid in London in 1941, and Dola, though she still possesses her property, Dolaura, near old Hatley Park, lives mostly in New York.

The wonderful property that was Hatley has been sold to the Government for a price that some say would not have paid for

the stone wall that encompassed it. It is now "Royal Roads" a tri-partite Service College and is instrumental in turning out many good young Canadians to defend their country.

All the daughters of Joan Dunsmuir have died—Lady Musgrave in Ireland and her sister Maud Chaplin in England in 1952.

The following is an extract from the London *Times* on Mrs. R. S. Chaplin.

> A memorial service for Mrs. Reginald S. Chaplin was held at Beaulieu Abbey church on Saturday. The Rev. E. M. Nicholl officiated.
>
> Those present included Mr. J. R. Chaplin (son), Mrs. J. de Trafford (daughter), Mr. D. H. de Trafford (grandson), Mrs. John Hope, Rear Admiral Sir Arthur Bromley, Mr. and Mrs. A. Swetenham, Mr. C. Jessel, Mr. and Mrs. W. S. Jameson, Miss Edith Godman, Hon. Lady Stanley, Mrs. F. Beeley, Mr. A. Beeley, Hon. Mrs. E. Pleydell-Bouverie, Mrs. Barrington Crake, Hon. Mary Clare Douglas-Scott-Montagu, Sir St. Vincent and Lady Troubridge, Mrs. L. R. Shennan, Mrs. Michael Dilke, Lt. Col. and Mrs. C. Meares, Miss Meares, Mr. Clements, Mr. W. M. Whitaker, Miss Whitaker, Mrs. Evan Gibbs.

June Chaplin, described above as Mrs. de Trafford, has since remarried and is now Lady Audley, wife of Baron Henry Audley. They live in a beautiful house in Cheyne Walk, Chelsea and he is a very keen manufacturer and connoisseur of finely decorated table glass.

Jackie Chaplin, a stalwart member of Whites Club, St. James, has his own flat in London.

Lady Gough-Calthorpe died shortly after her sister, in 1952; she was formerly Effie Dunsmuir and had been an invalid for many years during her later life; she died intestate. Her estate has been a difficult one to settle, and Lady Bromley and Mr. Chaplin have acted as administrators. The author was lately called to London where, as the eldest male heir of his grandfather (Lady

Gough-Calthorpe's next of kin), the estate lawyers required him to sign a "Declaration of Pedigree." As this document gives an idea of the descendants of Robert Dunsmuir at the time of writing, it is appended herewith.

A short while ago the following advertisement appeared in a Victoria newspaper:

> DUNSMUIR SILVER SOLD AT AUCTION. A canteen of sterling silver flatware donated by employees of Nanaimo Collieries in 1901 to the late Hon. James Dunsmuir, former Minister of Mines, sold for $300 at an auction conducted by A. R. Roberts, a partner of the firm of Maynard and Sons, at the Willows Fair Grounds Monday and Tuesday.

If these possessions were sold by a member of the family it would seem that they must be somewhat lacking in sentiment and respect for the efforts of their forebears and those who worked so hard to bring in their coal.

There are many of Robert Dunsmuir's relatives living on Vancouver Island now—great-grandchildren and great-great-grandchildren—and though the Dunsmuir name does not mean a great deal to the new Canadians who are flocking to this coast in the thousands, had it not been for the sturdy old pioneer family and many others like them, the land that they live in so contentedly would not be what it is today.

Nanaimo, which already is called the "hub city" of Vancouver Island, has a great future before it. With the extension of the P.G.E. Railway into the Peace River district of British Columbia and perhaps in time the Yukon, undoubtedly this port will open up the interior of Vancouver Island to trade from the far Northwest. Ladysmith may again become the thriving city it was in the days of the James Dunsmuir regime, and may possibly be the site of a large new pulp mill to process the British Columbia forest products output from Port Renfrew and the interior of Vancouver Island.

There is a Dunsmuir Street in the heart of Vancouver, and a Dunsmuir Road in Esquimalt on Vancouver Island. There is even a city named after Alexander Dunsmuir in California, and there is still the Dunsmuir Colliery Company, although it is now not controlled by Dunsmuir capital.

All in all like the Douglases, the Helmckens, and the Pembertons, the Dunsmuir name will symbolize the beginning of British Columbia and Vancouver Island. Though this great family have dispersed and today carry little weight in the affairs of the nation, the old pioneers who worked and fought and persevered against every adversity that those following could live in a land of plenty will be remembered with honour and gratitude by all right-thinking British Columbian citizens today.

APPENDIX

IN THE MATTER of the Estate of the late
LADY ANNIE EUPHEMIA GOUGH-CALTHORPE

I, JAMES GUY PAYNE AUDAIN of White Lodge, Royal Oak, British Columbia, solemnly and sincerely declare as follows:

1. I verily believe that my great-grandfather Robert Dunsmuir was born in 1825 and was married to Joan Olive White in 1847 and died in 1889 and that there were ten children only of his marriage, namely Elizabeth Hamilton, Agnes Crooks, James, Alexander White, Marian Joan, Mary Jane or Jean, Emily Ellen, Jessie Sophia, Annie Euphemia and Henrietta Maud.

2. The said ELIZABETH HAMILTON DUNSMUIR was born in 1848 and married to John Bryden in 1867 and believed to have died in about 1900. There were three children only of her marriage, i.e. Robert, John William and Joan Olive.

(1) The said ROBERT BRYDEN was born on the 23rd January, 1868 and died on the 14th June, 1945 a bachelor.

(2) The said JOHN WILLIAM BRYDEN was born on the 9th May, 1869 and married to Ellen Gertrude Tarbell in 1905 and died on the 23rd August, 1953. There were five children of the marriage only, namely ELIZABETH JOAN BRYDEN born on the 1st April, 1906 who married Arthur Deyo Clelland on the 3rd December, 1943 and she is still living;

LUCY LENORE BRYDEN born on the 21st March, 1907 and married to John Ryland on the 22nd August, 1938 and she is still living;

JOHN TARBELL BRYDEN born on the 28th February, 1908 and died on the 8th June, 1944 a bachelor;

GERALD ROBERT BRYDEN born on the 7th December, 1914 and he is still living; and

PETER CROFT BRYDEN born on the 13th March, 1920 and he is still living.

(3) The said JOAN OLIVE BRYDEN was born on the 15th

August, 1887 and married to Alastair Douglas Macdonald on the 22nd June ,1910 and she is still living.

The birth, marriage and death certificates relating to the above underlined persons are now produced and shown to me contained in a bundle entitled "Bryden Family" and marked "J.G.P.A.1." and they are the persons so respectively mentioned in such certificates.

3. The said AGNES CROOKS DUNSMUIR was born in 1849, married to James Harvey in 1870 and died on the 15th September, 1889. There were three children only of her marriage, i.e. Margaret Joanna, James Swan and Eliza Georgina Dunsmuir.

(1) The said MARGARET JOANNA HARVEY was born on the 22nd February, 1871 and married to Berkeley Holme Sumner on the 12th February, 1896 and died on the 14th December, 1952. There were four children only of her marriage, i.e. Joan, Marjorie, Georgina and Patrick.

JOAN HOLME SUMNER was born on the 20th December, 1898 and married ——Gray about the year 1924 and she is still living.

MARJORIE HOLME SUMNER was born on the 30th September, 1904 and married first to Richard Christopher John Dreyer and married second to Edgar Walter Dudley Coventry on the 10th December, 1942 and married thirdly to John Freeman on the 7th February, 1952. She is still living.

GEORGINA HOLME SUMNER was born in 1912 and was married to ——Stewart in 1952 and she is still living.

PATRICK HOLME SUMNER (otherwise known as Somerset) was born about 1914 and he is still living.

(2) The said JAMES SWAN HARVEY was born on the 26th May, 1872, married in 1899 to Mabel Agnes Gaudin and died on the 29th September, 1932. There was one child only of his marriage, ROBERT OLIVER, who was born on the 1st August, 1900 and who is still living.

(3) The said ELIZA GEORGINA DUNSMUIR HARVEY was born on the 25th December, 1873 and married George Alan Kirk on the 30th September, 1903 and died on the 2nd September, 1928. There was one child only of her marriage, ELIZABETH AGNES KIRK, who was born on the 18th December, 1904 and who married first William Henry Keith Buchanan on the 2nd August, 1929 and remarried to Robert G. E. Knechtel on the 3rd June, 1939. The said Elizabeth Agnes Knechtel is still living.

The birth, marriage and death certificates relating to the above mentioned underlined persons are now produced and shown to me contained in a bundle entitled "Harvey Family" and marked "J.G. P.A.2" and they are the persons so respectively mentioned in such certificates.

4. The said JAMES DUNSMUIR was born in 1851, married to Laura Surles in 1876 and died on the 6th June, 1920. There were twelve children only of his marriage, namely Robert William, Sarah Byrd, Joan Olive White, Elizabeth Maud, Laura Mary, Alexander Lee, Emily Elinor, Joan Marion, Jessie Muriel, James, Kathleen Euphemia and Dola Frances.

(1) The said ROBERT WILLIAM DUNSMUIR was born on the 21st August, 1877 and married first to Maude Shubert on the 23rd November, 1901 by whom he was divorced on the 25th January, 1915 and remarried civilly to Florence Swinden on the 19th April, 1915 and religiously on the 23rd July, 1920 and died on the 6th January, 1925. There were no children of his marriage to Maude Shubert. On the 9th November, 1912 ROBIN was born.

There were three children only of his marriage to Florence Swinden namely Laura Marion, Muriel Byrd and Elizabeth Kathleen.

The said LAURA MARION DUNSMUIR was born on the 3rd August, 1915 and married to Sidney Robert Mitchell on the 11th September, 1937 and she is still living.

The said MURIEL BYRD DUNSMUIR was born on the 27th August, 1917 and married first to Noel Hutton in 1940 from whom she divorced and remarried to Harold James Ward on the 8th November, 1946 and she is still living.

The said ELIZABETH KATHLEEN DUNSMUIR was born on the 21st March, 1924 and married first to John Hunter in 1948 and remarried to Randolph Scott Clarke on the 28th January, 1950 and she is still living.

The birth, marriage and death certificates and the divorce decrees relating to the above underlined persons in this paragraph 4(1) are now produced and shown to me contained in a bundle entitled "Robert William Dunsmuir Family" and marked "J.G.P.A.3" and they are the persons so respectively mentioned in such certificates.

(2) My mother, the said SARAH BYRD DUNSMUIR, was born on the 22nd November, 1878 and was married to my father, Guy Mor-

timer Audain, on the 29th October, 1901 and died on the 29th January, 1925. There were two children only of her marriage: myself, this deponent James Guy Payne, and my sister Laura Frances.

I, this deponent, JAMES GUY PAYNE AUDAIN was born on the 8th July, 1903.

My sister LAURA FRANCES AUDAIN was born on the 8th February, 1909 and was married to Ivo Sinclair Henderson on the 27th February, 1934 and she is still living.

(3) The said JOAN OLIVE WHITE DUNSMUIR was born on the 7th August, 1880 and died on the 16th April, 1884.

(4) The said ELIZABETH MAUD DUNSMUIR was born on the 14th April, 1882 and was married to John Alexander Henry Hope on the 15th April, 1907 and she is still living.

(5) The said LAURA MARY DUNSMUIR, one of the administrators of the deceased's estate, was born on the 3rd July, 1884 and was married to Arthur Bromley on the 24th June, 1904 and she is still living.

(6) The said ALEXANDER LEE DUNSMUIR was born on the 14th May, 1886 and died on the 26th January, 1887.

(7) The said EMILY ELINOR DUNSMUIR was born on the 15th November, 1887 and died a spinster on the 9th April, 1938.

(8) The said JOAN MARION DUNSMUIR was born on the 25th November, 1888 and was married to Percival Henry Stevenson on the 19th November, 1913 and died on the 15th May, 1952. There were no children of her marriage.

(9) The said JESSIE MURIEL DUNSMUIR was born on the 30th July, 1890 and was married first to Edward Molyneux in 1917 and married second to Maurice Wingfield and lastly married to Frederick Graham St. Clair-Keith on the 7th March, 1944 and she is still living.

(10) The said JAMES DUNSMUIR was born in 1893 and was a bachelor and was drowned in the *Lusitania* disaster in 1915. This event is common knowledge in the family and is confirmed by my aunt, Lady Laura Mary Bromley, and my cousin, John Robert Chaplin, the administrators to the estate of the deceased.

(11) The said KATHLEEN EUPHEMIA DUNSMUIR was born on the 22nd December, 1891 and was married to Arthur Seldon Humphreys in 1917 and died in an air raid on London on the 8th March, 1941. There were four children only of her marriage, i.e. James Seldon, Joan Muriel, Jill Nicola and Judith Dolaura Kathleen.

JAMES SELDON HUMPHREYS was born on the 19th January, 1918 and he is still living.

JOAN MURIEL HUMPHREYS was born on the 10th June, 1919 and was married first to John Barron in 1941 and remarried to Frank James Luttmer on the 20th October, 1953 and she is still living.

JILL NICOLA HUMPHREYS was born on the 7th August, 1924 and was married to William Henry Dalziel on the 28th June, 1946 and she is still living.

JUDITH DOLAURA KATHLEEN HUMPHREYS was born on the 20th May, 1927 and was married to Henry Donovan Joy on the 9th April, 1949 and she is still living.

(12) The said DOLA FRANCES DUNSMUIR was born on the 25th September, 1903 and was married to Henry James Francis Cavendish on the 11th August, 1928 and she is still living.

The birth, marriage and death certificates relating to the above underlined persons are now produced and shown to me contained in a bundle entitled "James Dunsmuir Family" and marked "J.G.P.A.4" and they are the persons so respectively mentioned in such certificates.

5. The said ALEXANDER WHITE DUNSMUIR was born on the 8th July, 1853 and was married to Josephine Wilbar Tompkins Wallace in December, 1899 and died on the 31st January, 1900. There were no children of his marriage which took place a few months prior to his death.

6. The said MARION JOAN DUNSMUIR was born in 1855 and was married to Charles Frederick Houghton on the 27th March, 1879 and died on the 13th February, 1892. There were no children of her marriage.

7. The said MARY JANE DUNSMUIR was born on the 11th February, 1862 and was married to Henry Croft on the 1st July, 1885 and died on the 15th August, 1928. There were no children of her marriage.

8. The said EMILY ELLEN DUNSMUIR was born on the 5th January, 1864 and was married first to Worthing Pinkney Snowden on the 14th July, 1886 and remarried to Henry Randall Burroughes on the 6th October, 1904 and died on the 29th January, 1944. There were no children of her marriage.

The birth, marriage and death certificates relating to the above underlined persons in the foregoing paragraphs 5, 6, 7 and 8, are now produced and shown to me contained in a bundle marked "J.G.P.A.5"

and they are the persons so respectively mentioned in such certificates.
9. The said JESSIE SOPHIA DUNSMUIR was born in 1866 and was married to Richard John Musgrave in 1891 and died in 1948. There were two children only of her marriage, i.e. Joan Moira Maud and Dorothy Frances.

(1) The said JOAN MOIRA MUSGRAVE was born in 1892 and was married to Thomas Ormclay Jameson in 1920 and died in 1953.

(2) The said DOROTHY FRANCES MUSGRAVE was born in 1894 and was married to Edmund Glen Browne on the 29th March, 1933 and she is still living.

The birth, marriage and death certificates relating to the above underlined persons in the foregoing paragraphs 9. (1) and (2) are being procured by the solicitors to the administrators and will be deposed to as soon as same come to hand.
10. The said ANNIE EUPHEMIA DUNSMUIR was born in 1868 and was married to Arthur Gough-Calthorpe in 1900 and died on the 13th March, 1952 and she is the above-named deceased. There were no children of her marriage. The certificate of her death is now produced and shown to me marked "J.G.P.A.6."
11. The said HENRIETTA MAUD DUNSMUIR was born on the 11th March, 1872 and was married to Reginald Spencer Chaplin on the 8th June, 1898 and died the 27th October, 1950. There were two children only of her marriage, i.e. Joan Isabel Jessica Effie and John Robert.

(1) The said JOAN ISABEL JESSICA EFFIE CHAPLIN was born on the 5th June, 1899 and was married first to Rudolph Edgar Francis de Trafford on the 6th February, 1924 and remarried to Thomas Percy Henry Touchet Tuchet-Jerson Baron Audley on the 15th November, 1952 and she is still living.

(2) The said JOHN ROBERT CHAPLIN, one of the administrators of the deceased's estate, was born on the 6th October, 1901 and he is still living.

The birth, marriage and death certificates relating to the above underlined persons in the foregoing paragraphs 11. (1) and (2) are now produced and shown to me contained in a bundle entitled "Chaplin Family" and marked "J.G.P.A.7." and they are the persons so respectively mentioned in such certificates.
12. I make this solemn declaration from tradition in my family and from my access to the Dunsmuir family archives and from my own

personal knowledge conscientiously believing the same to be true and by virtue of the provisions of the Statutory Declarations Act, 1835.

DECLARED at 9 Cavendish Sq.
in the County of London
this 14th day of July
1954.

J. G. P. Audain

Before me,
A. L. Underwood

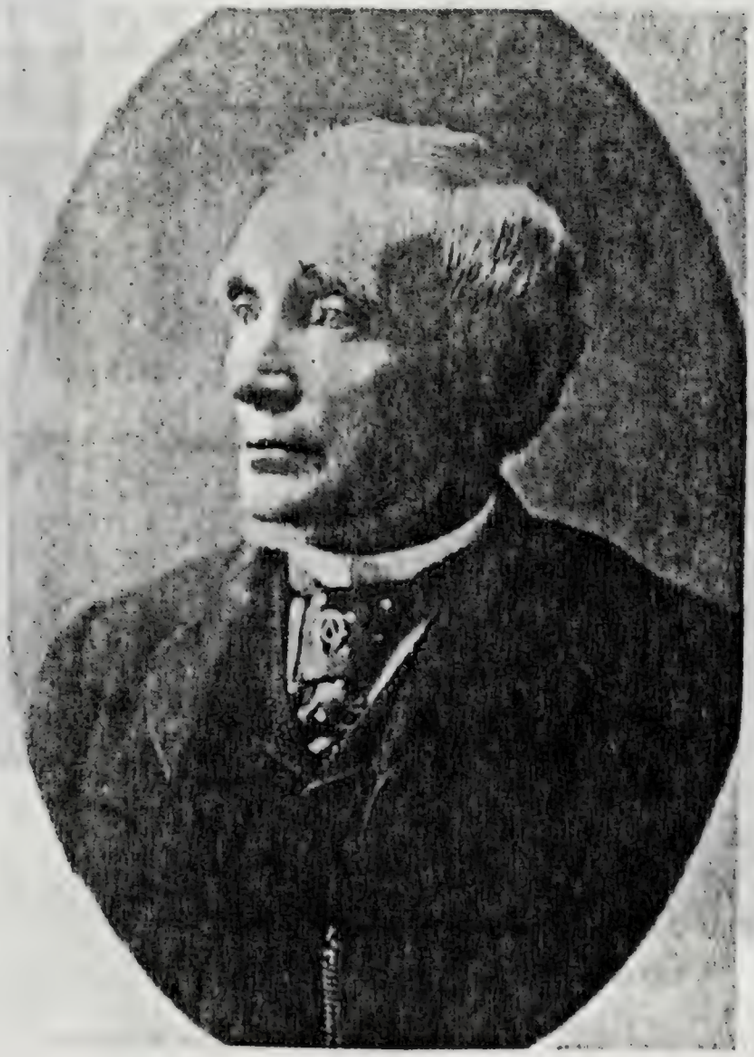
A Commissioner for Oaths.

THE

FAMILY

PHOTOGRAPHS

Mrs. Joan Olive Dunsmuir
Provincial Archives
Victoria, B.C.



Robert Dunsmuir
Provincial Archives
Victoria, B.C.

Byrdie
In Fancy Dress
as "Vivandière"

Alexander Dunsmuir
Provincial Archives
Victoria, B.C.

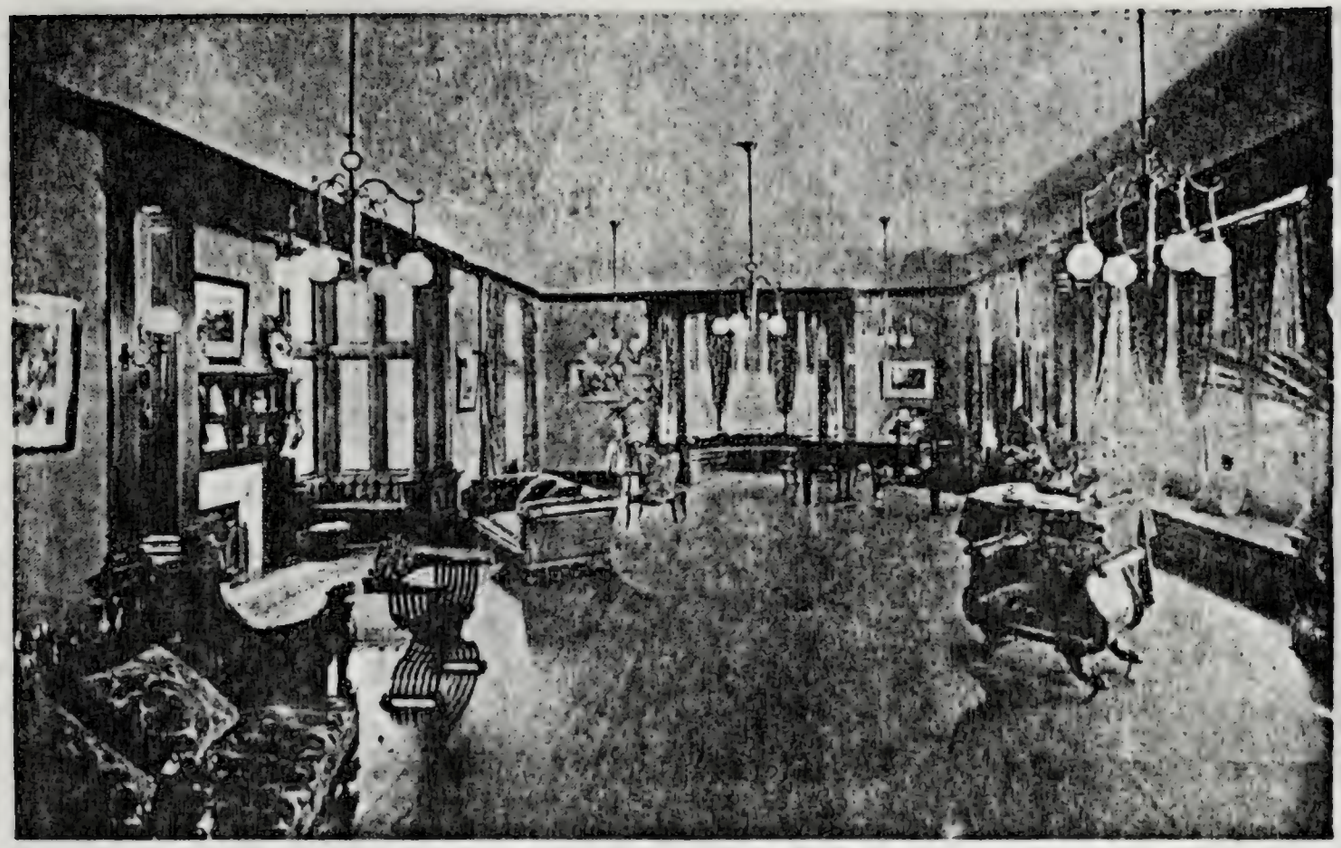
Mrs. James Dunsmuir
Latter Days at Hatley

Dola Dunsmuir and Jimmy Audain
"Their First Drive" "On the Yacht"

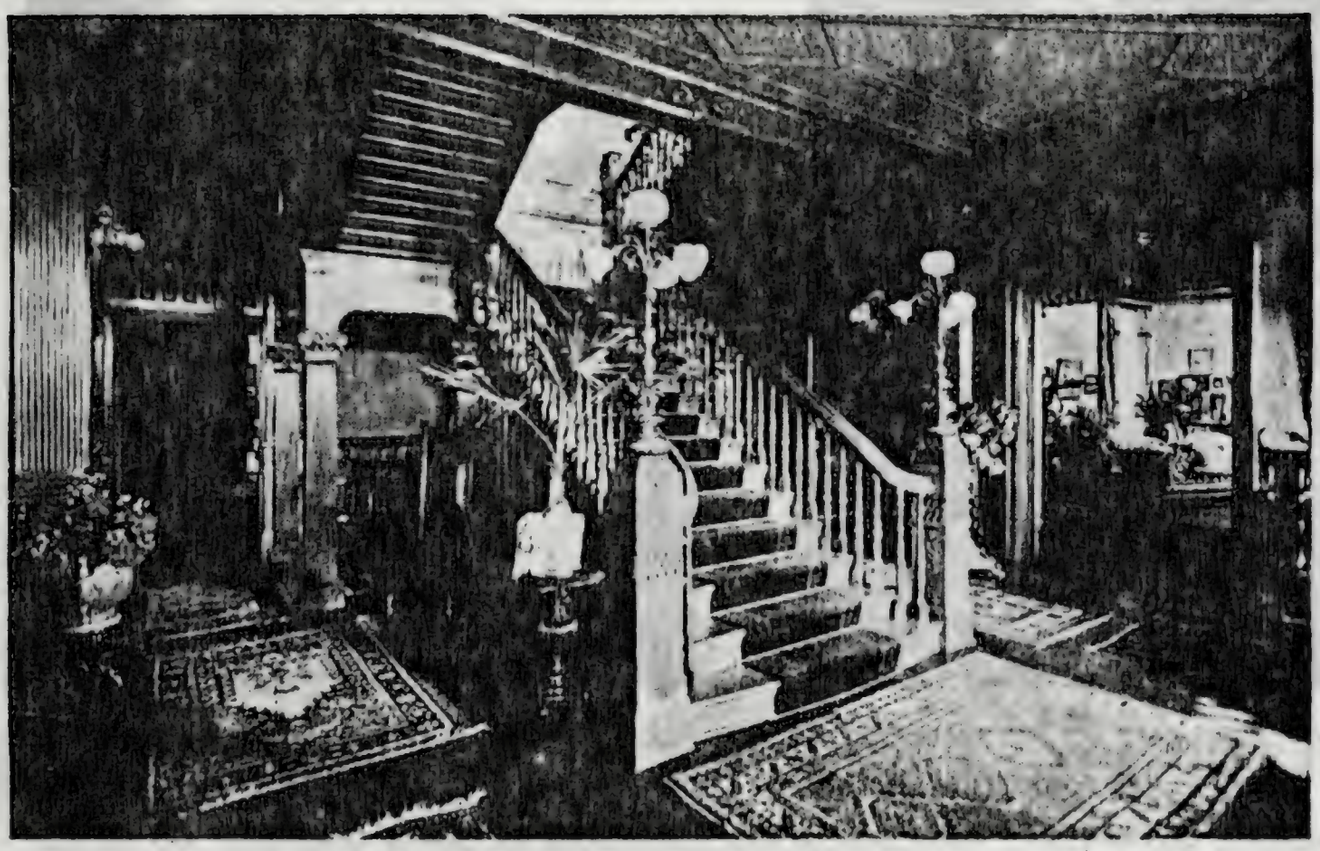
Byrdie's Wedding at Burleith Oct. 1901
L to R—Maye, Byrdie Audain (the bride), Bessie,
Marion, Elinor
L to R (Sitting) Muriel, Kathleen

Hatley,
from the
Japanese Garden
Provincial Archives
Victoria, B.C.

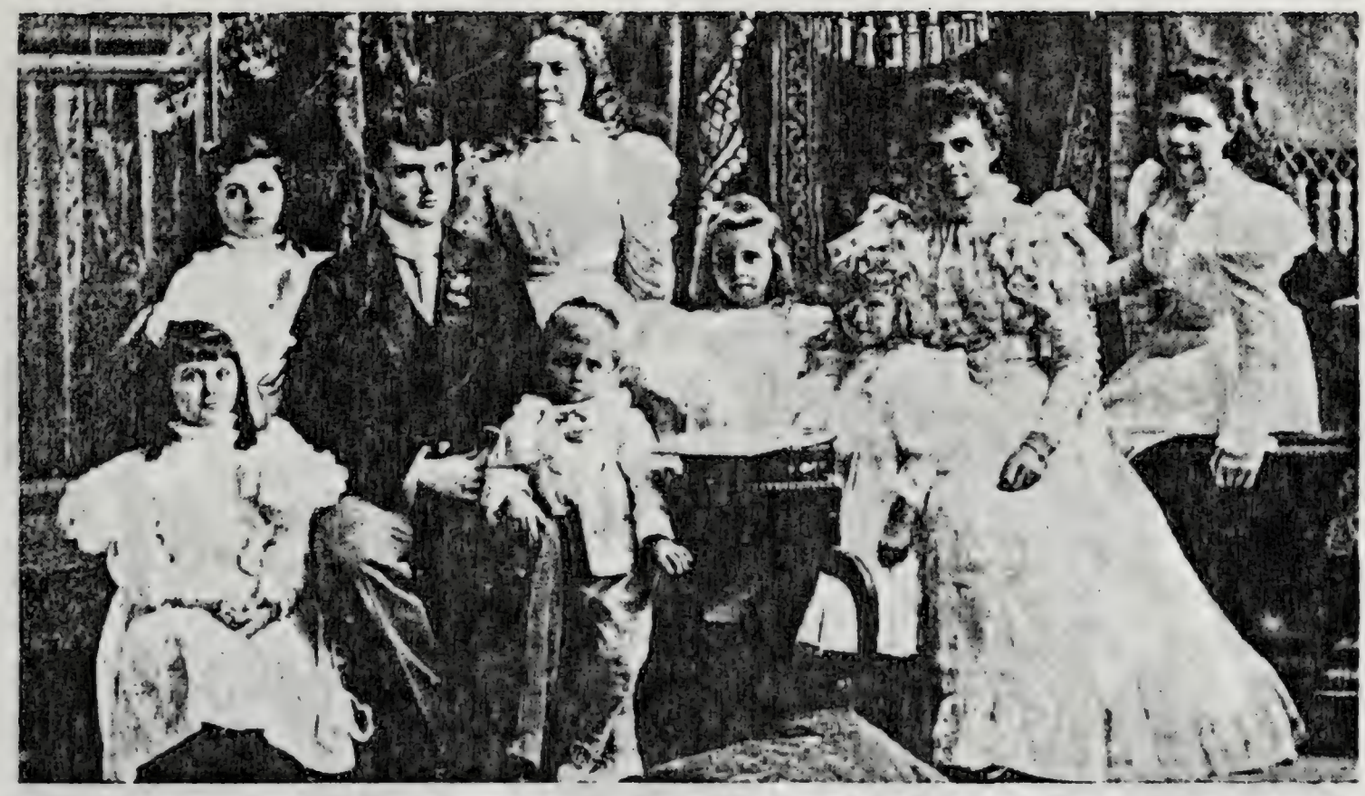
Craigdarroch
Castle
Provincial Archives
Victoria, B.C.



Ballroom at Burleith



Staircase at Burleith

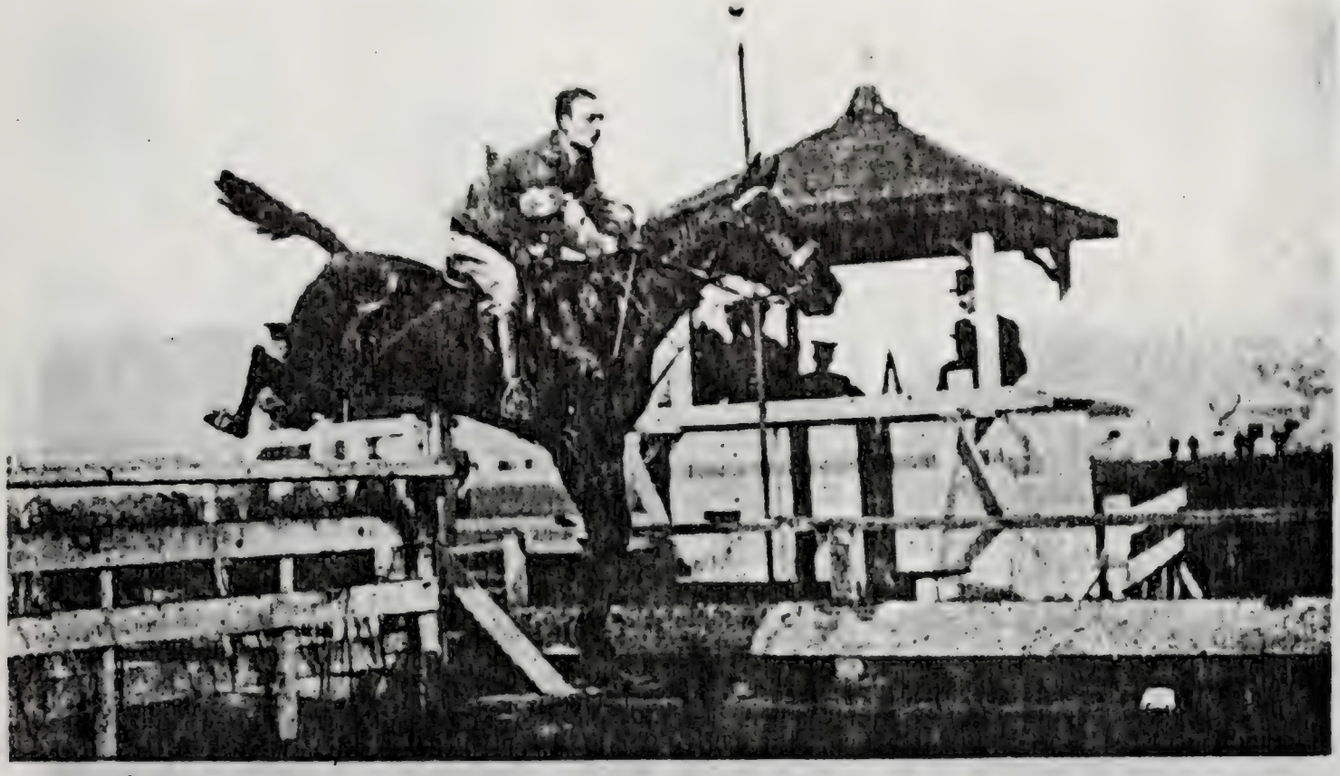


James Dunsmuir's Family—At Burleith
L to R: Marion, Elinor, Robin, "Boy" (at knee), Maye (in rear)
Muriel, Kathleen, Byrdie, Bessie

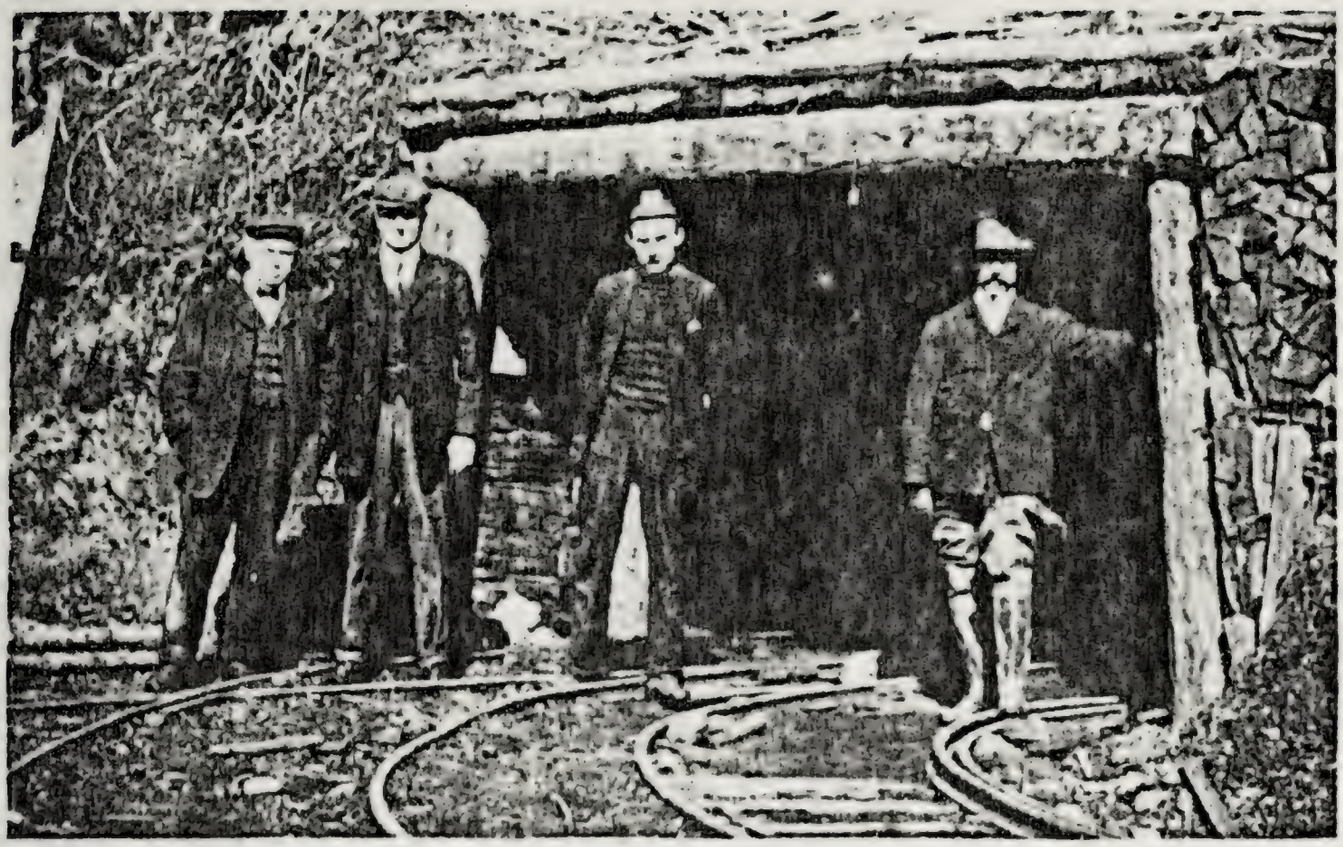
James Dunsmuir and "The Kids"
at Hatley
L to R: Muriel, J.D., Kathleen,
Marion

Hon. James Dunsmuir as
Lieutenant-Governor
Provincial Archives
Victoria, B.C.

On Board "Dolaura"—L to R: a friend, Marion, Muriel, James Dunsmuir, another friend—seated in front: Guy Audain, "Boy" Dunsmuir—in rear: Gerry Torrens, Kathleen Dunsmuir



Jim "Boy" Dunsmuir on "Nigger"
Mounted Sports at Willows April 1915



Outside the Wellington Mine
Provincial Archives
Victoria, B.C.

Steam Yacht "Dolaura"